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INDIA BETRAYED

A panorama of Indian History, Politics and Culture, from Vedic-age to Modern times.

Prof. PIARELAL SHARMA

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INDIA BETRAYED

This is a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the panorama of Indian History, Politics and Culture from Vedic-age to Modern-times. With copious illustrations from hundred of books and articles, Mr. Sharma has convincingly and conclusively presented his thesis that this country has been continuously and consistently misled, hoodwinked cheated, deluded, deceived, betrayed and outraged ruthlessly and mercilessly both from within and without.

The treatment is both incisive and profound. The range of erudition displayed is amazing. The sheer mass of sensational discoveries and disclosures regarding the famous personages of Indian history is alarming. The two volumes put together provide a practical handbook of Indian History, Politics and Culture.

The book may well prove to be the sensation of the year—one of the best books to come out from India on the subject, in recent years.

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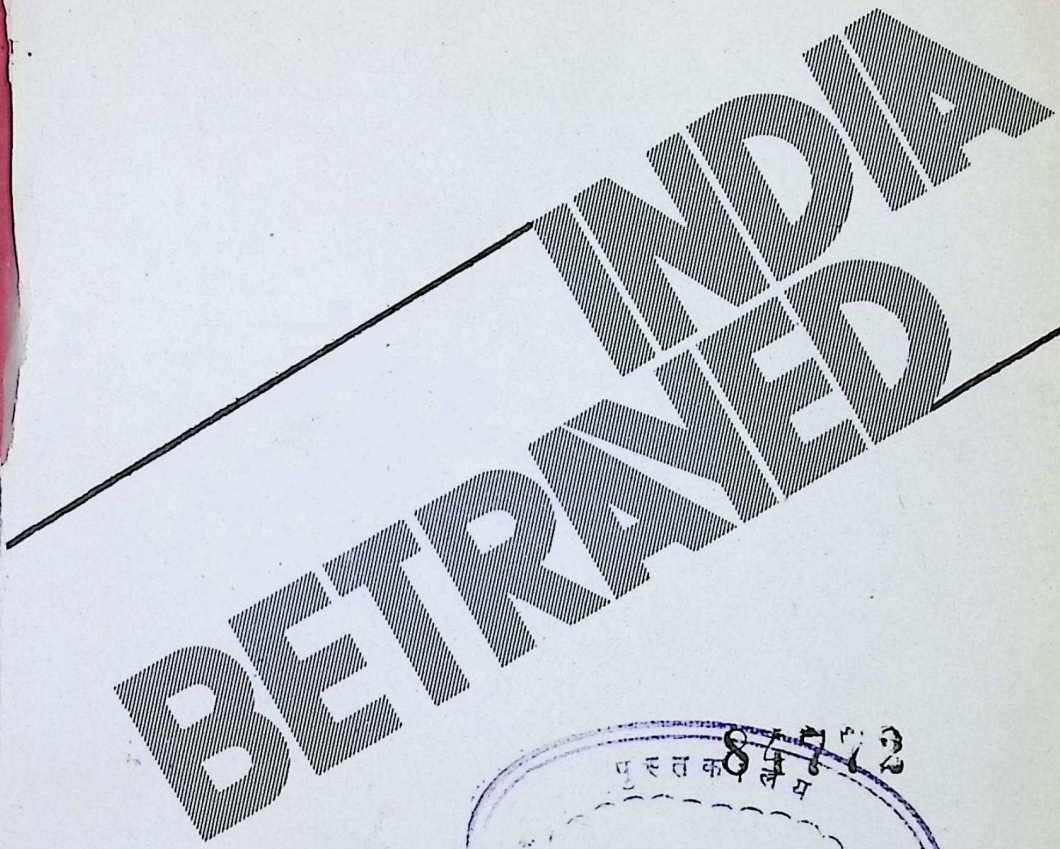

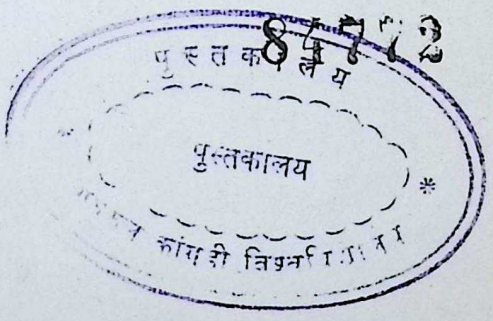

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PROF. PIARELAL SHARMA

INDIA BETRAYED

Volume Two

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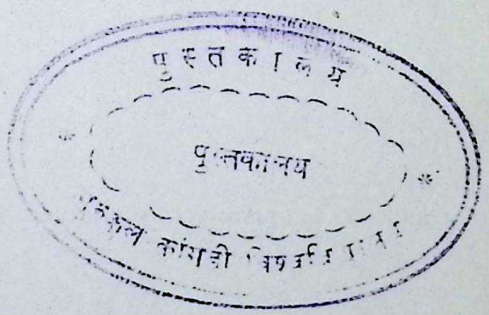

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Preface

I have great pleasure in presenting to my readers the second volume of *India Betrayed.* The first volume contained an analytical study of the events of our history from Vedic age to 1948. The second volume proposes to examine the period of history from 1948 onwards to 15th January, 1980. The central idea emerging from all this discussion remains the same, that this country has been ruthlessly and relentlessly betrayed down the ages. Appropriately enough, the year 1979 emerges as the year of betrayals that outdid any previous period in Indian History in deception and betrayal. 'The taste of pudding is in its eating.' The value of this book will finally be judged by the discerning readers only. But if the book can serve as an eye-opener even to a few, I shall consider my efforts amply rewarded.

I am again highly obliged to all those authors whose writings I have extensively quoted from in the present volume. My sincere thanks to Mr. Omprakash Sharma, the publisher, for his unstinted help and encouragement in the writing of this book. But for his co-operation, this second volume would never have seen the light of the day.

Suggestions for the improvement are always welcome and will be thoughtfully considered for the future edition.

2805/22C, Chandigarh PIARELAL SHARMA

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Introduction

We have often failed to live up to our great heritage. We have made mistakes in the past and we may make more in the years ahead. The past is not entirely dead within us and in every Indian there is an awareness that the job before him must be accomplished in terms that once made us great.

History is not a political creed and only historians promote a way of life and they are pledged to devote themselves to promote social progress and if they fail to discharge their share of responsibility, they should not be called historians.

This second volume of my book *India Betrayed* is based on my historical knowledge of the Indian ways of life. Through the ages. India, at its many periods of history had had to face challenges, both from within and without. But our response to such challenges has been one of adaptation rather than opposition. The search for equality was exemplified in religious upheaval in India. This movement appealed to a large number of people all over the country, cutting across all barriers.

A new challenge came from Christianity and India reacted in the familiar way. A synthesis of ideas was brought about in the nineteenth century, and resulted in a renaissance in religion, politics and social life of the country. The reformist zeal was also directed towards removing the social and economic disabilities of the poor and under-privileged, and the ground was prepared for the Gandhian revolution of the twentieth century.

According to Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political scene of India like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes, like a whirlwind that upset many things but most of all, the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India. His emphasis was on truth and non-violance. His aim was the uplift of the common man. He fought a mighty empire without arms and without hatred. He created history and historians as well. But alas, the Gandhian revolution which brought national freedom has been betrayed through the violent suppression of democracy by the followers of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi themselves.

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The reduction of religion to private conscience by the secular State remained merely a surface effect. Every party exploited the caste and minority votes during the elections and the Constituent Assembly had hardly any representation of peasants and workers and lower middle sections.

Mahatma Gandhi's advice to begin training in democracy from the grass-roots having been ignored, our system is a bourguois democracy totally unfit for a people emerging from feudal and alien one-man rule, left to suffer in ignorance, poverty and decay, with their vote buyable by any bidder.

If all the great revolutions in the history of the world have been brought about, our contemporary thinkers have lost their independence by overt or covert alliance with one political party or the other.

The older undeveloped states of Asia and Africa and of Latin America have in common the fact of established national elites. The new states of Asia and Africa do have marked affinities with all states and above all with the undevoloped states of their own continents and Latin America.

Prof. Edward A. Shils in his *Comparative Study of the New States* tells us:

"There are now more than thirty instances of societies with very similar situations and problems, each one differing somewhat from the other in tradition, resources, and achievements. They form, moreover, a substantial part of the earth's surface and population. The data are therefore not some minor fragments thrown up in a corner of the world. They are, rather, a massive part of the whole universe with which social scientists must deal. They provide an enormously important, immensely rich field of observation. The emergence of a social order, the formation of the state, the transformation of tradition, the legitimation of new authority—these are only a few of the most fundamental problems of social science that can be studied in the experience of the new states. The approximate identity of their situation and structure affords the possibility of returning again and again to these basic problems. By studying them in slightly differing contexts, with enough in common among them to enable us to estimate the significance of the various factors that operate differently among them, social scientists may regard the existence of the new states, considered simply from the standpoint of their subject, as an exceptional boon.

"It is not, moreover, the only one. The intimacy of our understanding of the societies that have now passed into history will never be able to equal the intimacy we can now attain in our intellectual relationship with these still living societies. The study of the new states permits degrees of intimacy and comprehensiveness that are not easily attainable with respect to any other society, either living or dead, larger than a small tribe. This gives it a great advantage over every comprehensive social inquiry, based on fieldwork, except the anthropological study of the village community.

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"The orderly understanding of the new states requires that they should be seen at least within the categories of known human experience. There is an important reason for this requirement. To escape from ad-hoc explanations, we must promulgate categories that are equally applicable to all states and societies, to all territories and epochs—variations must be subsumable within these categories."

The Russian forces entered Afghanistan in January 1980. Why? Because the Afghans invited the Russians to control the Afghan traitors. The study of new states is macrosociological study. It is a study of societies and when it studies parts of these societies, it studies their contribution to the functioning of the Third World as a whole.

But we are concerned with India alone. A passing reference has to be given to all those countries that affect the modern history of India.

Professor Edward A Shils, the chairman of the committee for the comparative study of the new states, writes thus:

"Macrosociology has been left painfully uncultivated by sociology in recent decades. As sociology and its cognate disciplines have become more refined and rigorous, they have also narrowed the scope of their observations—although these two tendencies are not logically connected with each other. Where social anthropology, which is more or less macrosociological in its study of its traditional subject matter, that is, the small society, has transferred its attention to advanced societies, it has confined itself to the village or small town. Its macrosociological potential has not been sufficiently realized in the study of advanced societies. Indeed, practically no social scientist—none, except for a few quasi-Marxists—has attempted to deal macrosociologically with modern societies; and these because of their inclination to regard power, and above all, concieve power, as the sole means of producing coordinated action, have contributed very little to the formulation or clarification of the macrosociological problem. Consensus is the key phenomenon of macrosociology. The phenomenological description of consensus is relevant to our theoretical interests. The extent to which the population residing within a given territory is a society, and not just a complex of societies ruled more or less effectively by a single system of authority, is of both theoretical and practical interest. Every constituent institution and stratum of the society or societies of a new state can be studied from the standpoint of the macrosociological problem. Interconnections among the various sectors of the elite, local and national, and their relationships with the rest of the society, the situation of the "professionals" of traditional culture, the growth of the monetized sector of the economy, the adaptation of immigrants in towns, the formation of trades unions—to cite only a few illustrative instances—are all fit subjects of macro-sociological analysis.

"The comparative study of the new states need be no more relativistic ethically, than it need or can be historicist in a methodological sense. The avoidance of relativism must not, however, be accompanied by a

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freezing of our imagination about the diversity of institutional forms through which our ethical values can be realized. A genuinely comparative study of the new states, within the context of a general theoretical and comparative analysis of all states and societies, will do more to reveal the possibilities of the organization of public life than all the arguments about the inherent genius of the "African personality," the "Islamic state," the "Hindu heritage," or the "Western tradition." It can contribute to the schooling of judgment and the refinement and enrichment of analysis in political philosophy. Thus, it might, by proceeding along the lines of Max Weber, bring to fruition what was begun by Aristotle and Cicero. It will therewith illuminate our spirits while it disciplines our minds."

The cultural policy of the new states after the threshold of their independence is given below in the words of Mckim Marriott:

"Observers of the diversities and of the sometimes sudden alterations of national policy in the new states during the later 1950's and afterward may doubt the possibility of generalising, much less choosing between these two contrasting predictions about the trend of cultural development. Consider the example of India since her independence. With a population 85 per cent Hindu, India framed an explicitly secular constitution of Anglo-American type, yet followed a policy of indigenous cultural pluralism. She chose as the symbols of national identity and eminence old elements that are largely of the Buddhist and Mogul high cultures. On the other hand, Ceylon and Burma, having preponderances of Buddhism among their peoples, insisted on secular policies for ten and fourteen years, respectively, and then inaugurated strongly religious national and international programmes.

"In foreign as well as in domestic cultural policy, India tends toward pluralism. But among the many guises in which she might present herself, India's emphasis goes constantly to those that are most broadly regarded as admirable. The broadest cultural phenomenon of which India can claim a part is the modern world culture of industry and science. As a peripheral recipient of some of the latest technological developments of the West—the newest plants for manufacturing steel, refining oil, or generating electricity, the newest laboratories for scientific research or the latest medical techniques—India can sometimes claim to be more up-to-date on a limited scale than even the donor countries. By comparison with other developing nations, India can generally show further technological progress. But if she emphasizes only this claim to world respect, India cannot in the foreseeable future aspire to the highest position, for she is still largely an importer rather than an exporter of such cultural goods, and thus second best to the West. Many elements of modern international culture link her with a wide world, but that world and its culture are in some senses not her own.

"The second most widely spread segment of world culture in which

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India participates is the Islamic. In her centuries of Muslim rule, India was a leader of world Islamic civilization, and even today, after partition, she remains the third nation of the world in numbers of Muslim citizens. But India's claim to Islamic fame is inherently subject to qualifications like those affecting her claim to modernity, and to other qualifications as well. Indian Islam is an import, even if it is an old one, and has often been suspected of dilution or corruption by its pagan milieu. Furthermore, the 1947 partition had seemed to signify a rejection of allegiance to India on the part of most of her Muslim citizens: a strongly Islamic identification would therefore have been regarded as invalid by many. Top leadership of Islam in South Asia seemed destined to fall to Pakistan, while leadership of world Islam seemed likely to remain in the smaller but more vociferous and historically central Islamic states of the Middle East. India's presentation of herself to the world as possessing some secondary eminence in Islamic culture usefully serves to sustain her sympathetic communication with other Muslim nations and to preserve her competitive position vis-a-vis Pakistan, but Islam cannot provide a credible total identity for the states.

"For signalling her unique identity among the nations, there is no doubt that India could best choose to emphasize Hinduism. Hinduism is no import, but developed on Indian soil. The disqualification of Hinduism on the international scene is simply that it is so closely associated with Indians. It seems never to have succeeded as a world religion apart from Indian people: when it has travelled (anciently to Ceylon, Southeast Asia, and Indonesia, and recently to Africa, Fiji, and Trinidad), it has travelled always in the persons of Indians. Hinduism therefore retains the rather embarrassing character of a tribal, although national, religion. India would gain even less of world favour from adopting Hinduism as her official religion than Israel would by making herself into a Judaic state. Hinduism offers a basis of understanding with no other nation.

"Generalizing on the difficulties of cultural policy that India has experienced in dealing with modern industrial culture, with Islam, and with Hinduism, one may say that the ideal segment of a nation's culture for international presentation is that which is neither too narrow, nor an import, but rather a widespread export. For India, Buddhism is just such a commodity. From its beginning as an Indian sect, Buddhism spread to most of central, eastern, and southeastern Asia and to the Indonesian archipelago as well as throughout South Asia. That it had nearly disappeared in India by 1947 was, if anything, an asset to India's taking it up as part of her international image, for no important internal group seemed likely to gain or lose by the illusion. As a somewhat vague and abstract doctrine, Buddhism has had relatively high marketability, or at least intelligibility far beyond its area of religious acclimatisation in Asia. As suggesting either extreme spirituality or

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some sort of radical reform of less desirable pagan cults, Buddhism has seemed a respectable religion to many even in the Christian West.

"The Government of India's symbolic adoption of the Buddhist robe had been presaged in her internally convenient selection of the Buddhist emperor Ashoka as premier national hero. The international development was to be seen silently but forcefully stated in the Buddhist ornamentation of new architecture in the capital city (in the gateways of expositions and in such permanent structures as the Vigyan Bhavan and Ashoka Hotel), in India's interested participation in the many conferences and exchanges of relics among Buddhist countries about the time of the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of Buddha's birth (1956-1957), in her archaeological efforts (for example, at Nagarjunakonda), and in her production and subsidy of numerous documentary films on Buddhist themes, and so on. The robe proved a serviceable garment in publicising India's efforts to dissuade China from action in Tibet in 1954; the "Five Principles" (Panch Sheela) of co-existence propounded by Pt. Nehru at the time were cast in Buddhist cultural style and resounded widely in Asian public opinion. The Five Principles again proved useful in the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in 1955. Efforts toward retaining the loyalty or friendship of the Indo-Tibetan frontier areas—Ladakh, Bhutan, and NEFA—also stood to gain from a Buddhist cultural policy. If there was one regret on the part of some Indian policy makers, it may have been at the possibility that they had oversold their goods on the internal market, for in 1956-1957 three million untouchables searching for equality in separation left the Hindu fold to become Buddhists."

"As a third, neutral force in world politics developed through Asian and Afro-Asian negotiations, the Government of Ceylon began to recall the country's important ancient religious role. International Buddhist ties were then cultivated. Nowhere in the new states has a reconciliation been completely achieved. The attractions of modernity in terms of power and welfare appear to permit it to be rejected out of hand, traditional cultures and the traditional elites that sustain and are sustained by them simply melt away in the face of modern ideas and forms of organisation. Differences among traditions are relevant to an understanding of the modernisation of stratification. The triumph of modernity may indeed be in some sense inevitable in the long run but the problems encountered along the way seem to differ rather markedely in different traditional setting and these differences promise to influence the shapes that modernity will ultimately take in the various new states.

"The most interesting case is that of India, with its apparent paradox traditional mysticism bound up with a unique social rigidity. We have the most modernized occupational structures of all the new states. he explanation lies in the long duration and peculiar depth of British influence. This can hardly account for a situation in which so many

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leaders of the drive towards modernity have found it possible to draw inspiration for their efforts from precisely that religious tradition which has seemed to so many observers to be so inimical to the modern spirit.

Whatever other factors may be involved, part of the answer undoubtedly lies in the extraordinary pluralism of the Indian religious tradition, encouraged by the fragmentation of Indian society into countless endogamous groups and by its loose association with the central organisation of the policy.

Llyod Fallers says: "There remains no tension between Indian religion and cultural modernity. The magic mysticism of popular Hinduism is still real enough. And within the body of modern Indian thought there are important strains between the more secular, technocratic planners and the Gandhians, for whom technological modernisation can never be an end in itself and must often take second place to other values. One has the impression, however, that, in one way or another, most Indians who occupy modern elite occupational roles have found ways of relating these activities meaningfully to personal and national aspirations that they feel are informed by Hindu tradition. Perhaps the very luxuriant diversity of that tradition itself reduces the need for more complete cultural synthesis, making it easier for modern entrepreneurs and civil servants to share high prestige in the eyes of the same public with representatives of traditional saintliness. What many observers of the Indian scene feel is, from a political standpoint, a dangerous tendency toward disunity may also be a valuable source of cultural flexibility. In all the new states, the interaction between traditional culture and the ideas associated with technological and occupational modernisation is complicated by the historical association of the latter with Western Imperialism, to the struggle against which the new states own their existence. A satisfactory synthesis therefore requires some form of ideological separation of modernity as a national goal from its specifically Western associations. Here again the Indian tradition of diversity and syncretism appears to have made this relatively easy, enabling Indian modernisers to innovate while retaining a deep sense of national identity and continuity—indeed, allowing them to develop a certain sense of mission to "save the West from itself" by demonstrating to Westerners the proper uses of modernity. This attitude is common in the writings of Tagore and Gandhi and in the pronouncements of contempoary Indian political leaders."

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1 *Vanished Glory*

The Hindus are divided into a vast number of independent, self-acting, organised groups, which are called castes; and their whole social framework rests upon this division. There are those who admire it, as a consummate work of social wisdom. Among these is found the Abbe Dubois, who writes, "I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism, and that she preserved and perfected the arts and science of civilisation, whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism. I do not consider caste to be free from many great drawbacks; but I believe that the resulting advantages, in the case of a nation constituted like the Hindus, more than outweigh the resulting evils." Europeans in general, and Protestant missionaries in particular, now take a very different view. They would rather agree with the opinion forcibly expressed by Mr. Sherring, in his well known work, that caste is "a monstrous engine to pride, dissension, and shame"; and to this, cultivated and thoughtful Hindus, at the present day do not assent. Babu Hem Chandra Banerjee, who attained considerable reputation among his countrymen as a poet, is stated to have said, "Caste is the real obstacle to progress in India".

Let us consider a little the origin of caste. The word, we may note, is of Portugueses origin. Now beyond question is it that though the pre-eminence of the Brahmins over the rest of the people dates as far back as there are historical memorials of India, the present fourfold caste system is much less ancient. We may say with certainty that it did not exist in that phase of Aryan civilisation the earliest of which we have knowledge—revealed to us by the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*. The sacerdotal and warrior orders, the *Brahmins* and *Kshatriyas*, are recognised there: but in the genuine hymns we find no mention of *Vaisyas* and *Sudras*.

"And so", writes Mr. Growse in a very learned dissertation on the subject, buried in his *Mathura District Memoir*, "it appears to have been all along. In the great epic poems, in the dramas, and the whole range of miscellaneous literature, the secerdotal and military classes are everywhere recognised, and mention of them crops up involuntarily in every familiar narrative. But with *Vaisya* and *Sudra* it is far different. These words (I speak under correction) never occur as caste names,

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except with deliberate reference to the Manava Code. They might be expunged both from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* without impairing the integrity of either composition. Only a few moral discourses, which are unquestionably late Brahmanical interpolations, and one entire episodical narrative, would have to be sacrified; the poem in all essentials would be left intact. But should we proceed in the same way to strike out the *Brahman* and the *Kshatriya*, the whole framework of the poem would immediately collapse. There is abundant mention of *Dhivaras* and *Napitas*, *Sutradharas* and *Kumbha karas*, *Mahajanas* and *Baniyas*, but no mention of them all under two heads in the same familiar way that all chieftains are *Kshatriyas*, and priests and literateures *Brahmans*."

Mr. Growse believes "that the institution of caste was the simple result of residence in conquered country."

"This," he proceeds, "is confirmed by observing that in Kashmir, which was one of the original homes of the Aryan race, and also for many ages secured by its position from foreign aggression, there is to the present day no distinction of caste, but all Hindus are *Brahmans*. Thus, too, the following remarkable lines from the *Mahabharata*, which distinctly declare that in the beginning there was no caste division, but all men, as created by God, were *Brahmans*: There is no distinction of castes; the whole of this world is Brahmanical, as originally created by *Brahma*; it is only in consequence of men's actions that it come into a a state of caste divisions,. At the time when the older vedic hymns were written, the Aryan was still in his primeval home and had not decended upon the plains of Hindustan. After the invasion the conquerors naturally resigned all menial occuptions to the aborigins, whom they had vanquished and partially dispossessed, and enjoyed the fruits of victims while prosecuting the congenial pursuits of arms or letters. For several years, or possibly generations, the invaders formed only a small garrison in a hostile country, and constant warfare necessitated the formation of a permanent military body, the ancestors of the modern *Kshatriyas* and *Thakurs*. the other part devoted themselves to the maintenance of the religious rites, which they brought with them from their trans-Himalayan home, and the preservation of the sacred hymns and formulae used in the celebration of public worship. Of this mystic and unwritten lore, once familiar to all, but now, through the exigency of circumstances retained in the memory of only a few, these special families would soon become the sole depositories. The interval between the two classes gradually widened, till the full-blown *Brahman* was developed, conscious of his superior and exclusive knowledge, and bent upon asserting its prerogatives. The conquered aborigins were known by the name of *Nagas* or *Mlechhas*, or other contemptuous terms and formed the nucleus of all the low castes, whom Manu subsequently grouped together as *Sudras*, esteeming them little, if at all, higher than the brute creation. But a society, consisting only of priests, warriors and

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slaves, could not long exist. Hence the gradual formation of a middle class, consisting of the offspring of mixed marriages, enterprising natives, and such unaspiring members of the dominant race as found trade more profitable or congenial to their tastes than either arms or letters. Last of all, and by no means simultaneously with the other three, as represented in the legends, the *Vaisya* order was produced."

It is given in Manu's *Dharma Shastra:* "For the sake of preserving the universe the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot. To *Brahmans* he assigned the duties of reading (the *Veda*), the teaching, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts. To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read (the *Veda*), to shun the allurements of sexual gratification, are in a few words the duties of a *Kshatriya*. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the Scriptures, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a *Vaishya*. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a *Sudra*, viz, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their works."

"This legend of the origin of the four castes" is true so far," Sir William Hunter observes, "that the *Brahmins* were really the brain power of the Indian people, the *Kshatriyas* its armed bands, the *Vaishyas* its food growers, and the *Sudras* its down-trodden serfs." Anyhow, whatever may have been the process, the various elements of the Indian people were welded together into castes by the Brahminical legislation, of which the Code of Manu the earliest and most authoritative record. Mr. J.N. Bhattacharya observes in his learned work on *Hindu Castes and Sects*:

"The sentiments which Brahminical legislation engendered and fostered have led to the formation or recognition of a vast number of extra castes and sub-castes. In all probability the laws of the *Shastras* failed to bring about a complete fusion of all the clans and races that had been intended to be included within the same group, and their recognition as distinct sub-divisions have also be formed in later times by the operations of one or more of the following causes:

1. By migration to different parts of the country.
2. By different sections being devoted to the practice of distinct professions.
3. By any section being elevated above or degraded below the level of the others.
4. By quarrels between the different sections of the same castes as to their relative status.
5. By becoming the followers of one of the modern religious teachers.
6. By the multiplication of the illegitimate progeny of religious mendicants.

"The Hindu legislators made the castes exclusive, not so much by prescribing particular professions for each, as by prohibiting intermarri-

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age interchange of hospitality on a footing of equality. In the beginning intermarriage was allowed so far that a man of a superior caste could lawfully take in marriage a girl of an inferior caste. But by what may be called the Hindu New Testament, intermarriage between the different castes is prohibited altogether. As to interchange of hospitality, the *Shastras* lay down that a *Brahmin* must avoid, if possible, the eating of any kind of food in the house of a *Sudra*, and that under no circumstances is he to eat any food cooked with water and salt by a *Sudra*, or touched by a *Sudra* after being a cooked. It practice, the lower classes of *Brahmins* are sometimes compelled by indigence to honour the *Sudras* by accepting their hospitaliiy—of course eating only uncooked food or such food as is cooked by *Brahmins* with materials supplied by the host. The prejudice against eating cooked food that has been touched by a man of inferior caste is so strong, that although the *Shastras* do not prohibit the eating of food cooked by a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya*, yet the *Brahmins* in most parts of the country would not eat such food. For these reasons every Hindu household—that can afford to keep a paid cook—generally entertains the services of a *Brahmin* for the performance of its cuisine, the result being that, in the larger towns, the very name of *Brahmin* has suffered a strange degardation of late, so as to mean only a cook.

"The most important regulations by which the castes have been made exclusive are those which relate to marriage. In fact, as Mr Risley in his valuable work on the *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* rightly observes, 'caste is a matter mainly relating to marriage." Matrimonial alliance out of caste is prevented by the seclusion of females, their early marriage, and the social etiquette which requires that even the marriages of boys should be arranged for them by their parents or guardians."

For more than two thousand years the *Brahmins* have maintained, unchallenged, their position at the apex of Hindu civilisation, and this, not merely in virtue of the supernatural endowments attributed to them, but by force of intellectual superiority. They have been the priests, the philosophers, the physicists, the poets, the legislators of their race. Yes, and we may say the rulers, too. Abbe Dubois is strictly accurate when he tells us that "the rule of all the Hindu princes, and often that of the Mohhammedans, was, properly speaking Brahminical rule, since all posts of confidence were held by *Brahmins*." Even at the present time, they take by far the greatest share in the administration of the country, and their ascendency, though merited by intelligence and culture, is not without its drawbacks. 'They swarm in our public offices; and rightly too," Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff has remarked, "because they can do the work very much better than any of the other castes. At the same time, they are a caste or rather a congeries of sub-castes, and they hold together like a vast Trade Union combined with a cousinhood" The *Kshatriyas* are now represented by the valiant and high-spirited *Rajputs*. Many claim the name of *Vaishyas*. The *Sudras* are, of course, the most numerous. "But the sub-caste" to use Sir Mountstuart's phrase "They have been

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exceedingly multiplied; and the lines of demarcation between them are strict. Thus ten great sects are reckoned of the *Brahmins*: five on the north, and five on the south, of the Vindhya range. And these are split up into a vast variety of divisions, the members of which cannot intermarry or eat together. Among the *Mahrattas* alone there are over two hundred castes. This is really the betrayal of vedic India where only four castes prevailed.

Caste regulations are extremely arbitrary. Thus, in most parts of India the *Kumhars*, or potters, are held to be a clean caste: in Gujarat they are regarded as exceptionally clean; but in the Madhya Pradesh and Orissa they are considered unclean. There are various classes of *Brahmins* who, for one reason or another, are regarded as degraded, and who form, practically, castes apart. The "good Brahmins" will not intermarry with them.

The principal rules of caste observed by Hindus at the present moment, Mr Dutt tells us, in his work *India Past and Present* are as follows: (1) "That individuals cannot be marrled who do not belong to the same caste; (2) that a man may not sit down to eat with another who is not of his own caste; (3) that his meals must not be cooked, except either by persons of his own caste, or by a *Brahmin*; (4) that no man of an inferior caste is to touch his cooked rations, or even to enter his cook-room; (5) that no water or other liquor, contaminated by the touch of a man of inferior liquor, caste, can be made use of; rivers, tanks, and other large sheets of water being, however, held to be incapable of defilement; (6) that articles of dry food, such as rice, wheat, grains, etc, do not become impure by passing through the hands of a man of inferior caste, so long as they remain dry, but cannot be taken if they get wetted or greased; (7) that certain prohibited articles, such as cow's flesh, pork, fowls etc., are not to be taken; and (8) that the ocean is not to be crossed, nor any of the boundaries of India passed over."

All this is betraying the real spirit of India. To this let me add some weighty observations of Mr. Bhattacharya:

"The main agency by which caste discipline is still maintained to some extent is the religious sentimentalism of the Hindus as a nation. But in this respect there is no consistency to be found in them. For instance, there are lots of men who almost openly eat forbidden food, and drink forbidden liquors, and yet their fellow-castemen do not usually hesitate to dine in their houses, or to have connections with them by marriage. But if a man goes to Europe he loses his caste, even though he be a strict vegetarian and teetotaller. Then, again, if a man marry a widow he loses caste, though such marriage is not in any way against Shastric injunctions, while the keeping of a Mohammedan mistress, which is a serious and almost inexpiable offence, is not visited with any kind of punishment by castemen. Similarly, a man may become a Brahmo, or Agnostic, and yet remain to caste; but if he espouse christianity or Mohammedanism, his own parents would exclude him from their house,

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and disallow every kind of intercourse, except on the most distant terms: He cannot have even a drink of water under his parental roof, except in an earthen pot, which would not be touched afterwards by even the servants of the house, and which he would have to throw away with his own hands, if no scavenger be available.

"The only acts which now lead to exclusion from caste are the following:

Embracing Christinaity or Mohammedanism.

Going to Europe or America.

Marrying a widow.

Publicly throwing away the sacred thread.

Publicly eating beef, pork, or fowl.

Publicly eating *Kuchcha* food cooked by a Mohammedan, Christian, or low caste Hindu.

Officiating as a priest in the house of a low class *Sudra*.

By a female going away from home for an immoral purpose.

By a widow becoming pregnant.

"When a Hindu is excluded from caste:

His friends, relatives, and fellow-townsmen refuse to partake of his hospitality.

He is not invited to entertainments in their houses.

He cannot obtain brides or bridegrooms for his children.

Even his own married daughters cannot visit him without running the risk of being excluded from caste.

His priest, and even his barber and washerman, refuse to serve him.

His fellow-castemen sever their connection with him so completely, that they refused to assist him even at the funeral of a member of his household.

In some cases, the man excluded from caste is debarred access to the public temples.

"To deprive a man of the services of his barber and washerman is becoming more and more difficult in these days. But the other penalties are enforced on excluded persons with more or less rigour, according to circumstances.

"In the *mofussil* the penalties are most severely felt. Even in the towns such persons find great difficulty in marrying their children, and, are, therefore, sometimes obliged to go through very humiliating expiatory ceremonies, and to pay heavy fees to the learned *Pandits* for winning their good graces."

Exclusion from caste is considered meaningless today. That is why crimes are increasing in India. Our people are not afraid of the social environment. Freedom has dazzled their eyes. They cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Hence we find that India has been betrayed.

So much as to the caste. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of Hindus tenanciously cling to it, and resent, as one of the worst of outrages, any interference with it. Of course the exigencies of modern life are against its strict observance. Railway travelling has been a great

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leveller. We may say the same of most European institutions. But a little judicious casuistry often serves to obviate the difficulties thus caused to the orthodox Hindu. For example, when the water supply was introduced into Calcutta the problem arose. How could the native public generally avail themselves of it in the face of the prohibition in the *Shastras* against drinking water from a vessel which has been touched by people of another caste? For all sorts and conditions of men resorted promiscuously to the standposts whence the water was obtained. The *Pandits*, after much reflection and discussion, determined that, although it was contrary to the teaching of Hindusm for men of different castes to drink water which come from the same vessel, the people had to pay taxes to meet the expense of bringing this water, such money payment should be considered a sufficient atonement for violating the the ordinances of religion by using the water.

That in the event the caste system will either disappear altogether, or be greatly modified, seems certain. But Mr. Dutt is doubtlessly well warranted in thinking that this change "will probably take a long time yet to come." He adds that at present the great mojority of "those who kick against caste" are such as "it has virtually repudiated. This," he continues, "is the case throughout the peninisula, barring its metropolitan towns, where the advance of liberalism has been greater, and where the caste system has necessarily outgrown itself. Unfortunately, however, this, as a rule, has not been the work of the school-master. A love of food and drink proscribed by the *Shastras*, and a morbid craving for promiscuous intercourse with females of all orders, have been the chief accelerators of improvement." There can be no question that Mr. Dutt has ample warrant for this writing. As unquestionable seems his conclusion, "For amelioration thus inaugurated, further progression will not be easy to achieve."

It is the caste system of the Hindus that has saved them from the onslaughts of foreign religions. The Muslims and the Christians had tried again and over again to overthrow Hinduism but the rigidity of our caste system helped us a lot in saving the roots of Hinduism Mr. Shasku Chandra Dutt declares in his book *India Past and Present.* "The sum total of the effects of caste is, that civilisation has been brought to a standstill in the country by its mischievous restrictions, and that there is no hope of this being remedied till these restrictions are removed." Of course *Brahmins*, for the most part, dissent, as is natural, from this judgement, and insist on the necessity "of maintaining the several divisions in Hindu society essential parts of its mechanism."

Now we find that the caste system is dwindling as the Hindus have started betraying their religion. The poor villagers—eighty per cent its total population—are the real people of India, a dense population of husbandmen. Only one fifth part of them live in towns, most of which are overgrowing. The social, economical, and religious institutions of an Indian village are substantially now what they were when the Laws of

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Manu were compiled and these laws, we must always remember, are merely the systematic arrangment of the usages which then existed, and had long existed; usages having for their object to secure a self-acting organisation, not only for the village-community as a whole, but for the various trades and callings of those who dwelt in it. The Laws of Manu are applicable, with very few modifications, to the village system as it now exists. Under this system our villages are tiny republics administering their own municipal affairs by means of perfectly effective institutions known as the *Panchayats*. In its external relations, whether with other villages or the central government, an Indian village is represented by a *sarpanch*. The daily wants of its members are provided for by a set of functionaries whose office is hereditary: a barber, an accountant, a money-changer, a smith, a potter, a carpenter, a shoemaker, an astrologer, and in the larger, a poet or genealogist, and a few dancing girls.

It may surprise those who are not conversant with Indian life to learn that the astrologer, is a very considerable person. He it is who casts the horoscope of the newly-born child in a document recognised by the Law Courts as of great authority for delermining age. He it is who fixes the hours for weddings, religious festivals, and indeed, for the initiation and completion of any business of importance.

The astrologer is also, generally, the *purohit*, or family priest; and his aid is indispensable to enable the Hindus to go comfortably through life. He is able to avert by the proper precatory formulas (*mantras*), the evil influences of the planets and the bad effects of curses or spells. He purifies the ceremonially unclean, blesses houses, tanks, and wells, consecrates new idols and invokes the deity into them, and performs the sacred ceremonies at weddings and funerals. His aid is highly esteemed by Hindu husbands during their wives' pregnancy. Daughters are much dreaded; they are, spiritually, useless, as they cannot perform the funeral ceremonies necessary to a man's deliverance from the hell And, economically, they are a burden especially in the higher castes, for their marriage is a costly affair.

But far more important than the *purohit* is the *guru*, of whom it may be well to quote the follwing graphic account from a work, *The Hindu Family in Bengal*.

"Akin to the priest is the *guru*. The *guru* is the medium of salvation, and therefore his position is higher than that of the priest. Woe to the Hindu whose body and soul have not been purfied by the spiritual counsels of the *guru*! He lives and dies a veritable beast on the earth, with no hope of immortal bliss. However charitable may be his gifts, however spotless his character, be his faith in the gods ever so strong, his salvation is impossible without the *guru*. Both the *guru* and the priest vie with each other in ignorance and conceit. Both are covetous, unprincipled, and up to every vice; but the *guru* is much more revered than his adversary, owing to the former being a less frequent visitor,

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and the speculative and mysterious nature of his avocations. The *guru's* away over the family is complete. His visits are generally annual, unless he be in a fix for money on account of an impending matrimonial or funeral ceremony in his house, when he certainly comes to you for his ghastly fee. There are many who simply pass their time in the disciple's house, going from one to another, and remaining as long as they wish, imposing on the hospitality and trading on the supersititious fears of their hosts.

"At one time these visits were regarded as auspicious events. Paterfamilias would consider the morn to have begun auspiciously which brought with it the radiant face of his *guru*. . . Dame Nature has selected him for his precious physiological and anatomical gifts. Picture to yourself a fat, short man, having what the doctors call 'an apoplectic make, of pretty fair complexion, round face, short nose, long ears, and eyes protruding from their sockets. Picture that face as sleek and soft, shorn of hairy vegetation, and the crown of the head perpetually kept in artificial baldness save a long tuft of hair in the centre. . . His countenance does not show the least sign of wordly care; plenty and ease have always been his environment. . . He comes with half-a-dozen famished beggars, each of whom has an important part to play in his lord's drama. One prepares his food, another his hemp and opium smoking pills, a third-looks after his treasure, a fourth shaves him and anoints his body, whilst the sixth helps him in his amatory transactions. These are not paid servants, but mere hirelings who follow him through fire and through water for anything 'that hath a stomach in it'.

"At the sight of the guru and his crew the whole house is thrown into commotion, and even the inmates of the *zenana* for the nonce lose their equanimity. 'The Lord has come!' is the alarm given by the *karta*, and it is echoed and re-echoed in the whole household. Preparations for his entertainment on an extensive scale are inmediately ordered; all the while the wily *guru* laughs in the sleeve with the thought that so long as there are cunning men in the world there must be fools. The *karta* is seen to reach the doorpost of his house and fall prostrate before the *guru*, who compliments him by coolly putting his foot on the dovotee's head as if it was a stepping stone to the attainment of higher honours in store for him. It is habitual with the *guru* to enter the house with a sorry face and cold demeanour. There is a vein of policy in it—viz; to terrify the *karta*, and extort from him a higher fee. This attempt sometimes causes unpleasantness. We have seen *gurus* insulting their spiritual disciples, cursing and swearing, and exhibiting such conduct as would, under any other circumstances, justify his immediate explusion from the house.

"On entering the house the *guru* is escorted to a sitting chamber, furnished with new carpets (for it is sacrilegious to make him sit on used ones), and is requested to be seated. He will not sit at first till the fascination of large promises becomes irresistible, and he yields.

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Large demands are sometimes made, which are generally acceeded to by the terrified disciples. After this the members of the family are enquired after, and are dismissed with the touch of the holy man's food, and the whole family and neighbours esteem it a great privilege to partake of what he may leave."

Do you find such *gurus* now in India? No. Either the *gurus* have betrayed us or we have betrayed the so-called *gurus*.

The *Kartas* mentioned in the foregoing extract is the head of the Hindu family, which in its normal state is undivided. But of late years partition has become common in those districts where Hindu laws are followed which allow any member of a family to demand it and to acquire the portion that falleth to him. In the undivided family the authority of its head, or *karta*, is very great; and the following account of him by Mr. B. Mullick may be read with interest:

'In his habiliments he is all simplicity. An ordinary cloth of five yards in length constitutes his usual costume. When he goes out he takes an additional piece of cloth to wrap his trunk with. To wear heeled shoes or boots is inconsistent with his venerable position, and he prefers loose slippers. It is his habit to shave his head and face clean, leaving only a tuft of hair about the centre of his head unshaved. This and a bead neklace mark him as a Hindu, and are prized by him as Hindu distinctions. The only perfumery he uses is mustard oil. . . His education is not of a high order. He can read and write. At all times he is a lover of learning, and such of his children as are mindful of their studies are his especial favourites. Devoid of a liberal education himself, he is possessed of strong common-sense, and his judgements generally smack of practical wisdom. The authors of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are his great pets, and the stories contained in those works delight his imagination.

"For literary and philosophical culture he greatly depends on the priest versed in ancient lore. He accepts the truths enunciated by him without insertion or cavil, and stores them up in his mind. . . The only science he cares for is arithmetic, in the knowledge of which he is generally profound. . . In book-keeping, too, he has some experience.

"In regard to morals, the *karta* knows that falsehood is a sin. Evasion and equivocation are sometimes his practices when direct falsehood is impossible. To avert loss or injury he may tell an untruth. His self-love verges on selfishness, though he is just and fair in his dealings. . . Servile obedience is constitutional with him when he has to deal with superiors in office. Flattery is the oil he uses to soften their minds. He is possessed of plenty of gratitude to those who have benefited him; but his hatred towards his enemies is implacable."

But Mr. B. Mullick is influenced by those writers who are really betraying India.

This picture belongs to the past rather than the present. It is of the "fine old Hindu gentlemen" who unquestionably, are fast diappear-

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ing. When a *karta* dies his place is taken by the principal elder of the family, his brother, or it may be his son, provided the son is of mature years. His wife, or it may be his mother, exercises over the women of the family, as *grihini*, an authority akin to his over his male members.

It will be proper here to say something about the *shraddha*, or ceremonies for the benefit of the dead, which are regarded by Hindus as being of such great importance. They include the feeding of *Brahmins*, and the offering of food, sweetmeats, and other delicacies to the spirit of the departed, and his or her ancestors. I take the following account from a highly-esteemed work *Modern Hinduism*, by Mr. Wilkins:

"About a fortnight after his father's decease, the son goes into a calculation of the amount he ought to spend in the proper performance of the funeral rites. Some of the richer families are said to have expended as much as £20,000 over a funeral in gifts to *Brahmins*, schools, chartiable institutions, and the poor but as it is stated in the *Shastras*, the Ramachandra, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, satisfied his ancestors by offering to them balls of sand for funeral cakes, it is taught that the poor can obtain equal benefit to themselves and ancestors without going to any very great expense. A poor man in these days is held to perform a proper *Shraddha* by making an offering of rice, tila seed, and a little fruit, and by feeding one *Brahmin* only—a ceremony that costs him only about four rupees.

"When twenty days have passed, the son, accompanied by a *Brahmin*, walks berefooted to invite his friends and others whom he wishes at the ceremony. On the thirtieth day, he and the near relatives, who have been regarded as ceremonially uncean, owing to the death of the deceased, now are shaved, have their nails out, and put on clean clothes. On the thirty-first day, he goes to the river to bathe, and as religious mendicants are ever on the watch for such people, they clamour for presents, declaring that unless their demands are satisfied, the departed cannot enter heaven. In a well-conducted *Shraddha*, the son has to provide silver plates and drinking vessels, also a bed and clothing to be given away as presents to *Brahmins* who may honour him with their presence.

"When the guests have assembled, amongst the *Brahmins* will be a number of men who possess some kowledge of Sanskrit. A *Shraddha* is one of the field days for these gentlemen, who beguile the weary hours before the feast takes place with argumentation on some knoty-point of Sanskrit grammar or Hindu Philosophy.

"From eight o'clock in the morning to two in the afternoon, the house where a *Sharddha* is going on is crammed to suffocation. A large awning covers the open courtyard, preventing the free access of air; carpets are spread on the ground for the *Kayasthas* and other castes, whilst the *Brahmins*, by way of precedence, take their seats on the raised *Thakurdalan*, or place of worship (i.e, the place where the images made for special religious festivals are set up). The presents, with a salver

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of silver, are arranged in front of the audience, leaving a little space for the musicians, male and female, which form the necessary accompaniment of a *Shraddha*, for the purpose of imparting solemnity to the scene... The guests begin to come in at eight o'clock, and are courteously asked to take their appropriate seats-*Brahmins* with *Brahmins*, *Kayasthas* with *Kayasthas*, etc. the servants supplying them with *hukhas* (pipe) and tobacco . . . The current topics of the day form the subject of conversation, while the *hukha*, goes round the assembly with great precision and peculiarity." (For each caste a special *hukha* is preserved, all of the same caste using the same.) "The female relatives are brought in covered palanquins by a separate entrance, shut out from the gaze of the males.

"About ten o'clock the ceremony commences, the priest reading the texts. the son repeating them after him. This occupies about an hour, after which many take leave, whilst other remain for a share in the gifts to be distributed. And often most unseembly disputes arise amongst these learned men in the division of the spoils some of the *Brahmins*, though present at the *Shraddha*, will not eat in the house of a *Sudra*, they carry home with them uncooked food and other presents.

"On the following day the *Brahmins* and others are fed. It is this feast that is supposed to restore the son and other relatives of the dead person to ceremonial purity. The food that is provided for these feasts is composed of what is regarded as sweetmeats, and not rice, the ordinary food of the people. To eat rice with a man is to acknowledge equality of caste; but these sweetmeats may be eaten without the ordinary caste restrictions being broken.

"On the next day the *Kayasthas* and other castes are fed, and if possible, on this day there is a greater rush and confusion than on the *Brahmin's* day. On the morning of the next day the mourning for the deceased is considered over. After some hours of music in the house by professional singers, the son and nerest relatives, having anointed their bodies with oil and turmeric, remove from the house what is called a *brisakat*, and fix it on the ground near the house. The *brisakat* is a painted log of wood about six feet long, on which the figure of an oxs rudely cut. This is a sort of mounument to the memory of the deceased. After this they bathe, return home, put on their ordinary dress, and sit down to an ordinary meal."

The Hindus of India today are not as they were. They have given up their old customs which exist only in name. The elaborate *Shraddha* system is gone and a simple form of it remains.

The vast majority of the Indian villagers live in a state of great poverty. Their houses are small huts of only one room, without windows to admit the light. The walls consist of coarse straw mats fastened to a framework of bamboos, or of reeds, or of alternate rows of straw and reeds, plastered with mud. But both floor and walls are

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strewn over with cow-dung which unquestionably, has a cleaning effect, and emits a perfume like that of a Tonquin bean. The dwelling-houses of the rich, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, consist of two parts, the *zenana* and the *boytakhana*. "The *boytakhana*," writes Mr. J. N. Bhattacharya, "is the outer part of the house where visitors are received. The Mussalmans do sometimes entertain their co-religionists in the *boytakhana*, but no orthodox Hindu would enter such a place while the plates are in it, or would remain there a moment after any sign of prepartion for introducing any kind of cooked eatables. Hindus and Mohammedans very often exchange visits for ceremonial and official purposes. But even when they are on the most friendly terms, a man professing the one religion will not ask a votary of the other to sit by his table while he is at dinner. The orthodox Hindu's prejudices are such that after sitting on the same carpet with a Mohammedan or a Christian friend, or shaking hands with such a person, he has to put off his clothes, and to bathe or sprinkle his person with the holy water of the Ganges. The Mohammedan gentlemen of the country who know well of these prejudices on the part of their Hindu fellow-countrymen, therefore, never ask them to mix too familiarly, and the Hindus also keep themselves at a sufficient distance to avoid what they must regard as contaminations."

I will conclude this chapter by putting before my readers the picturesque account of the house of a wealthy Hindu gentleman of Bombay, gives by Sir George Birdwood in his admirable work, *The Industrial Arts in India*. Birdwood writes:

"If we may judge from the example of India, the great art in furniture is to do without it. Except where the social life of the people has been influenced by European ideas, furniture in India is conspicuous chiefly by its absence. In Bombay the wealthy native gentlemen have their house furnished in the European style, but only the reception rooms, from which they themselves live quite apart, often in the distinct house, connected with the larger mansion by a covered bridge or arcade. Europeans, as a rule, and all strangers, are seen in the public rooms, and only intimate friends in the private apartments. Passing through the open porch, guarded on either side by a room or recess for attendants, you at once enter a sort of antechamber, in which a jeweller is always at work making or repairing the family jewels. Through the windows, across the court, the *Brahmin* cook is seen among the silver drinking vessels and dishes, preparing for the midday meal. In the opposite *verandah*, into which you next pass, some young girls are engaged under a matron embroidering silk and satin robes; and at the end of it a door opens and your host welcomes you heartily into his private parlour. He has sent for a chair for you, but sits on the ground himself, on a grass mat, or cotton *satrangi*, or Kashmir rug, with a round pillow at his back; and that is all the furniture in the room. Up-counry you may pass through a whole palace, and the only furniture in it will be

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rugs and pillows, and of course the cooking pots and pans, and gold and silver vessels for eating and drinking, and the wardrobes and caskets, and graven images of the gods. But you are simply entranced by the perfect proportions of the rooms the polish of the ivory-white walls, the gay fresco round the dado, and the beautiful shapes of the niches in the walls, and of the windows; and by the richness and vigour of the carved work of the doors and projecting beams and pillars of the *verdandah*. You feel that the people of ancient Greece must have lived in something of this way; and the houses of the rich in the old streets of Bombay, built before the domestic architecture of the the people was affected by Portuguess influences, constantly remind you, especially in their woodwork, of the Ionian Greeks, as the learned have reconstructed them from their remains; and the woodwork in the essential framework, the solid skeleton, of native houses in Bombay, and is put up complete before a stone or brick is placed on it. The strict rectangular ground plan also of Bombay gardens, and the orderly and symmetrical method in which they are planted, the different species of trees, it may be the coconutpalm and mango, or the coconutpalm and arecanut palm, being planted alternately all round the boundary, with other trees, pomegranates, oranges, jasmines, guavas, roses, cypresses, cleanders, and custard apples, in regular rows and sections, is indentical with the ground plan of the ancient Egyptian and Assyria gardens. Your host has nothing on but a muslin wrapper, for he is about to have prayers performed, and, as he throws the wrapper off his shoulders and head, and girds it round his waist and sits down, a *Brahmin* enters and places the gods and sacred vessels before him, burning incense, and going through the customary forms and ceremonies; while your friend, if you are interested, explains them in their order. So an hour has passed, when a frugal meal, chiefly of unleavened bread and milk, is taken and then it being nearly two in the afternoon, an attendant comes in and dresses his master for the Legislative Council, of which he is a member. First he puts on him a soft, close fitting jacket, and over it a long, white cotton robe, then his stockings, of the finest lisle thread, are drawn on and his feet placed in a pair of elegant French pumps; after which the turban is placed on his head, and a long waistband wound round his waist; and thus arrayed, with a heavily gold-mounted cane in hand, he at last issues forth, clothed and altogether in another mind, into the outer would of English ideas and fashioning."

Today the life of our citizens in India is completely changed. The jewellers are at their work in the *bazars* of our cities. They do not go to their customers houses for repairing the family jewels. Young girls of India are either seen in colleges or in the cinema houses. For the purpose of getting their silk and satin robes embroidered they go to the embroidery centres located in certain areas of their towns. Now the Indians have begun to furnish their houses with choice furniture. Their doors are not at all carved. We imitate Amrican style. The Indian

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host is now clothed in a Western fashion. There is no glass of milk for his guest who gets only a cup of tea if the host proffers hospitably. Instead of a turban, we see ordinary white caps on the head of a legislator, usually the ordinary citizens go out with bare heads. Even the girls have shaken off their upper garments. Our outer world is full of American ideas.

It is notable that in India the one faith whose ethos has most in common with the Christian, has been the most favourable to women. The religion of the Buddha, like the religion of Christ, gives her a place beside man as "a helpmate for him". It is a very different position from her subjection in Islam, and from her degradation in modern Hinduism. Nothing strikes the visitor to Burmah more forcibly than this. The liberty of the Burmese woman—liberty in the choice of a husband, liberty in the ordering of their lives—presents a singular contrast to the semi-slavery of their Mohammedan and Hindu sisters.

Concerning the place of woman among Moslems, unquestionably, Mohammed's reform did something for her. He curbed the unrestrained sexual license which he found among his Arab Kinsmen. To a certain extent he shielded and protected women. From the first he prohibited the custom of conditional wedlock, and in the third year of the Jijra he abolished temporary marriage. A well-known passage in the *Qu'ran* allows only four contemporaneous wives, And even this permission is subject to the proviso, "If you cannot deal fairly and equitably with all, you shall marry only one." Perhaps the Qu'ranic legislation deserves the prasise of going as far on behalf of the weaker sex as was possible in the state of society for which it was orginally promulgated. It would be absurd to blame Mohammed for not making monogamy part of his system, even if he had discerned its superior excellence as a form of marriage.

Mr. Justic Amir Ali, indeed, in his learned and interesting work on the *Life and Teaching of Mohammed*, tells us that a plurality of wives is growing rare among Indian Mussulmans. "The feeling against it," he writes, "is becoming a strong social, if not a moral conviction, and many extraneous circumstances, in combination with this growing feeling, are tending to root out the custom from among the Indian Mussulmans. It has become customary among all classes of the community to insert in the marriage-deed a clause, by which the intending husband formally enounces his supposed right to contract a second union during the continuance of the first marriage. Among the Indian Mussulmans ninety-five men out of every hundered are at the present moment, either by conviction or necessity, monogamists. Among the educated classes versed in the history of their ancestors, and able to compare it with the records of other nations, the custom is regarded with disapprobation. In Persia, only a small fraction of the population enjoy the questionable luxury of plurality of wives. It is earnestly to be hoped that before long a general synod of Moslem doctors will authoritatively declare that polygamy,

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like slavery, is abhorrent to the laws of Islam." The hope expressed by the learned Judge assuredly merits all sympathy. But its fulfiment does not seems probable in the face of the express teaching of the *Qu'ran*.

The position which woman holds in modern Hinduism may serve to show how vastly that system has degenerated from the ancient Vedic religion. Husband and wife were the joint rulers of the old Aryan household. The great Aryan epic poems exhibit the maiden as choosing her own spouse. Very different is the Brahminical conception, as formulated by Manu, of the wifely status: Let the husband keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification, and in female duty; in the preparation of daily food, and in the superintendence of household utensils. The production of children, nurture of them when produced, and the daily suprintendence of domestic affairs, are the province of the wife. "For women, he says elsewhere, "there are no separate holy rites, fasts, or ceremonies; all she has to do is to worship her husband, and thus will she become famous in heaven." And again, Whether a woman be a child, or young , or old, she must ever be dependent. In her childhood she must be in subjection to her parents, in her young age to her husband, and in her old age to her children." A Hindu woman must not eat with her husband, but must sit at a respectful distance from him. Nor may she walk by his side: she must walk behind him. She must not accost him in the presence of others, nor can she notice her. "A man makes himself ridiculous," writes Mr. Dutt, if he speaks to his wife affectionately before third person; and the wife is considered shameless who responds to such familiarity. Young married people are brought together only at night, and parted again in the morning, as if their meeting were a clandestine one. The only male relatives whom the Hindu wife ever notices openly, and at all times, are her husband's younger brothers and all children". She lives in the portion of the house set apart for the *zenana*—and never leaves it except when invited, on festive or other special occasions, to the houses of relatives, whither she is carried in close *palki*. I am writing of the women of the upper classes: *purdah* women, as they are called. Those of the lower classes, of course, are not secluded, but go about freely, taking their share, and often more than their fair share, of the labour of men.

Such is the condition of Hindu wives. Should they become widows their lot is hard indeed. They are to dress in perpetual mourning. They are to wear no ornaments. They are to appear on no festive occasions. They are to display no emblem, and enjoy no privilege of matrimony. "Let the widow emaciate her body by living on roots, fruits, and flowers," Manu enjoins: "let her not even pronounce the name of another man after her lord is deceased: let her continue till death forgiving injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding sensual pleasure, and practising virtue." This is by no means an empty precept. The vast majority of Hindu widows live, more or less,up to it. The law which sanctions their re-marriage is, practically, inoperative. The Hindu widow no longer

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ascends her husband's funeral pyre. But her life is little better than living death.

Of course a Hindu woman has no voice in the choice of her husband. A man's marriage is arranged for him by parents, orguardians, and is strictly regulated by considerations of caste. He is not consulted in the matter, and has to maintain an attitude of utter indifiifference regarding it. Girls were accounted by law marriageable at the age of the eight: they were however, given in marriage at the age of two and upwards, till they attained their maturity at about their twlfth year, remaining till then with their own family. "To a Hindu", as the Abbe Dubois remarks, "marriage is the most important and most engrossing event of his life. It is also the most expensive one, and brings many a Hindu to ruin. Some spend on it all that they possess, and a great deal more besides: while others, in order to fulfil what is expected of them, contract debts whice they are never able to repay." The expenditure is on feastings and rejoicings, which go on for weeks. Only a son, born in wedlock or adopted in default of male issue, can perform the rites necessary to deliver a man from the hell called put. And Manu insists that this is the reason why a son is in the Sankrit tongue designated *putra*. The right of inheritance and the right of performing funeral obsequies were correlative in ancient and medieval India.

In 1955 the laws of the Hindus were changed by Nehru's government. Was the *Hindu Code Bill* a betrayal of the Hindus? A light must be thrown on this question. The following interesting picture of the *Rai* of Kulu, given by Mr. F. St. John Gore in his *Lights and Shades of Indian Hill Life* will be highly useful to my readers who wish to know about the woman's condition in India nearly one hundred years ago.

"The *Rai* of Kulu, though not a ruler, holds a sort of hereditary dukedom, and and with it as much of a court and appendage as his somewhat slender means will allow. He can only marry a girl with 'royal' blood in her veins, and should he wish to do so, he receives a proposal from the girl's father offering his daughter in marriage. In the case of a rich girl, the father can command the *Rai* to come to his house with as many followers and attendants as he considers due to his daughter position. On the Rai's approach with some two or three hundred followers, he is received in great state, presents are exchanged, and the marriage is completed by a curious ceremony, in which the bridegroom walks seven times round the bride.

"It is the custom then for the Rani to be accompanied to her new home by a suite of several girls, the daughters of any villagers whom her father has influence enough to impress, though in some instances, if they are beautiful, he has to pay for them. These girls become a part of the Rai's household, and are from time to time supplemented by new purchases of the Rani's, whom she presents to her lord and master.

"The late Rai had two Ranis, the elder and the younger, and some sixteen of these girls, and being a most kind and enlightened man, they were very well treated by him, often accompanying their lord (in closed

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conveyances) on the occasions of his visits to the Ganges, to bathe in the sacred water.

"The Rani has a room of her own, and her food is cooked for her by a *Brahmin*, while the girls all live happily together in a big upper room with glass widows on all sides, where they sleep at night on mattresses placed in rows, along the wall, each being covered with a clean white *durri*, on which the occupant's name is cerefully embroidered. In the day time the mattresses are rolled up and put away, and each girl cooks her own food, in little rooms set aside for the purpose. The Rani's bed stands in the middle of the room, and he spends his time partly here and partly with the Ranis, without apparently exciting any jealousy in this cell-ordered household.

"The simplicity of the whole arrangement may be gathered from the fact that these 'ladies-in-waiting receive as pay each eighty pounds of grain a month, two pieces of homespun and two pairs of shoes a year, while one anna (about a penny) is given her a month as pocket money. The girls always dress in the hopespum cloth of the country, the Ranis alone wearing the richer coloured muslins.

"No doubt some people will urge that the position of these girls is nothing more nor less than slavery; but slavery is such wide word and covers so many varied conditions of life, that it may be said to include almost every phase, since no one is quite his own master. In spite of the horor this name implies to the average Briton, as a matter of fact in the East domestic slavery only becomes an evil when those in subjection begin to desire to change their life, which they very rarely wish to do, for they accept dependence and subjection with no different feelings from those of a Western girl in a humble state of life, who is obliged to earn her living by service.

"In considering the position of these girls who belong to the household, it must be remembered that they acquire a status that has been held in honour ever since the days of Solomon. Their life of ease and comfort, with ample provision of food and clothing, their freedom from all care under the protection of an indulgent master, must be contrasted with the alternative offered to them by remaining at home. In the latter case they would make a *marriage de convance*—in other words, be sold by their father for a few rupees to some young peasant. A life of toil and drudgery would then commence, in which 'home life', as we know it, would most probably be embittered by the infidelity of the husband and by her own intrigues, with an old age of neglect and want as a consummation. Of the two the latter picture presents quite as many features of slavery as the former, with the addition also of hard labour of life."

The special functions of women in India are child rearing and the superintendence of domestic affairs. But of these, owing to the transcendent importance attached among Hindus to offspring, maternity is regarded as by far the greatest.

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Forty days after the child has been born, the new mother has to undergo the ceremony of purification, which is of as much importance among the Hindus as it was among the ancient Hebrews, and is much more inconvenient. Miss Leslie thus describes it in her work *The Dawn of Light:* "Her nails were cut, her hair tied up; she was put in a palanquin, the bedding having been taken out, and carried to the river, a distance of six miles. The bearers waded into the stream with their burden as far as they could go, and the sacred water gushed in, around, and upon her, shut up in her dark box. She was then carried back all those six miles in her wet clothes, and such was the efficacy of the bath, that from that time she was reckoned ceremonially clean. A woman was not considered unclean after every child but on her monthly menses also. It might be so on hygienic grounds but it was a betrayal.

It should be noted that Hindu wives are, with very rare exceptions, unswervingly faithful to their husbands. "Among good castes," says the Abbe Dubois, "females in general, and married women in particular, are worthy to be set forth as patterns of chastity and conjugal fidelity to individuals of their sex in more enlightened countries." This is the more meritorious, as only in the rarest of cases are Hindu wives companions to their husbands. How can they be? "The conversation of Hindu women," Mr. Dutt avers, "is for the most part insane and frivolous, which affords a correct proof of the emptiness of their minds The husband, when talking of his wife, carefully avoids every discourse that might require the exercise of reason. He discusses with her domestic matters only. . .Every question that requires a careful mind to appreciate, he carefully and habitually eschews. A vacuity of thought is the necessary result."

Though a husband may be affectionately disposed, though a mother-in-law may be good-natured, the position of a Hindu wife is, at the best, deplorable. Of the sweetness of love's young dream she has had no experience. Romance which in European countries may idealise the nuptials of the humble does not enter into her life. Mere legal coupling is all that is permitted to her. With extremely few exceptions, Hindu wives are to quote Mr. Dutt again "household drudges merely." What is it, if not betrayal?

Mr. Crook, the author of a very meritorious work on *TheTribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces, and Oudh,* tells us: "One curious point as regards Indian prostitutes is the tolerance with which they are received into even respectable houses, and the absence of the strong social disfavour in which the class is held in European countries." This is true, as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. To say that Indian dancing-girls "are received with tolerance into even respectable houses" is a most inadequate statement. They used to visit as a matter of course, the homes of our gentlemen on all great occasions, such as marriage ceremonies, birthdays or house-warmings (as we should say). It was a proverbial saying in India that without the jingling of their feet-bells, a dwelling-place would not become pure. And they were treated by all castes

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with the utmost deference, being even allowed to sit in the assemblies of great persons, who would not accord such an honour to their own wives and daughters. To call them "prostitutes" was a great slur on Indian women. It was like a betrayal. When you call them the dancing-girls they belong to the spiritual field of fine arts. Similar was the lot of *Devadasis* who were the maid servants of the gods at famous temples of India.

No discredit was attached to their calling. They were under the impression that they have taken to a most honourable profession, by following which they are honouring the gods, and appreciated both by gods and men" And a man's intercourse with them, so far from being regarded as flagitious was considered an act of faith and worship, and according to some religious writers, effaced all sins.

Such were the dancing-girls of India; and such they had been for more than two thousand years, a distinctive and most significant feature of Hindu civilisation. Readers of Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, which represents, with much fidelity, the manners and customs of the country six centuries before the Christian era, will remember his description of these women:

And on another day there passed that road
A bend of tinselled girls, the nautch dancers
Of Indra's temple the town, with those
Who made their music—one that beat a drum
Set round with peacock feathers, one that blew
The piping *bansuri*, and one that twitched
A three-strinaged *sitar*. Lightly tripped they down
From ledge to ledge, and through the chequred paths,
To some gay festival, the silver bells
Chiming soft peals about the small brown feet,
Armlets and wrist-rings tattling answer shrill;
While he that bore the *sitar* thrummed and twanged
His threads of brass, and she beside him sang:
"Fair goes the dancing when the *sitar's* tuned;
Tune us the *sitar* neither low nor high,
And we will dance away the hearts of men.
The string O'er stretched breaks, and the music flies;
The string O'er slack is dumb, and music dies;
Tune us the *sitar* neither low nor high."

William Samuel Lilly describes these dancing girls in the following words:

"The physical charms of these women are often considerable, especially in Northern India. Their figures are almost naturally good. Their limbs are finely moulded, their arms, and hands, and feet delicately shaped. Their complexions are usually of an olive tint: dark brunette, we may say. Their eyes are large and languishing; and are made to look more lustrous, than they really are, by a line of pencilled black drawn on the edges of the eyelids. Their eyebrows are greatly cared for, and are of a regularity seldom seen in

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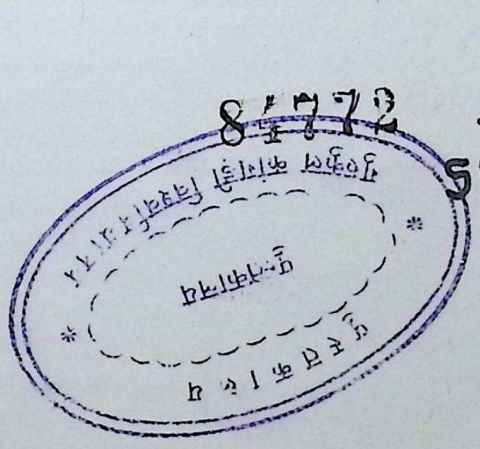
European women. Their faces are oval, their foreheads high and smooth. Their pose and general attitude are graceful and natural. Their dress is both modest and, in the highest degree, picturesque, consisting of *pyjamas*, bodice, skirt, and cloak or wrap. Their attire on ceremonial occasions differs from their ordinary raiment only in its profuse ornamentation with gold, silver, and pearls, lace, or valvet. They are fond of ornaments—some thirty different varieties are reckoned of the jewellery they wear—and of perfumes, and they decorate their head with sweet-smelling flowers. Their manners are refined and gentle, and perfectly unembarassed. It is to these women that the Hindu gentleman turns for the companionship which his home does not supply."

It is said that the Mohammedan invaders of India adopted the institution of prositution which was widely prevailing in this country. Mr. Justice Amir Ali tell us, "By their intermixture with the Brahminical race, among whom prositution was a legalised custom, their moral ideas have become lax; the conception of human dignity and spiritual purity has become degraded; the class of hetairal has become as popular among them as among their Pagan neighbours." Whether or no, this is an exact account of the matter, certain it is that there existed a class of dancing-girls professing the faith of Islam. An attempt was made to provide a Christian variety of them, but without success. "The Portuguese, when they took possession of Goa, laid their hands on some of these women, and forcibly converted them to Christianity, and not content with such conversion, they kept them as their mistresses. Their descendants have ever since been free from caste prejudices in respect to carnal intercourse with people of other than their own caste. They do not, however, observe Christian rites, but Hinduism in all its details"—this is how Mr. K. Gahunathji writes about the nautch-girls of India.



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2 *Another Drain Inspector*

A pseudo-judge named Beverley Nichols delivered his book called *Verdict of India.*

Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ for only thirty pieces of silver and Mr. Beverley betrayed India only for a few thousand pieces of gold.

In 1943 India was visited by Famine and Pestilence. It was the year when Beverley Nichols visited India and stayed here as the guest of India's Viceroy at New Delhi.

It was from the Viceroy's House in New Delhi that a royal circular was issued under the heading 'Mr. Beverley Nichols has arrived.'

In a Foreword to his book *Verdict on India* Mr. Beverley Nichols writes thus:

"I came to India, originally as a correspondent of *Allied Newspapers:* a long and serious illness interrupted this connection; I stayed on as an independent observer, and when I felt that I had observed enough, I wrote this book."

He was astonished that the Indian Press chose to regard him as 'Ambassador of Empire.' He stresses the fact that his book is all his own work. He says: "It is not British propaganda. It does not represent the official point of view. It is not sponsored by the India Office."

"That may be so," says N.G. Jog—the author of *Judge or Judah*—"but it does not make the manner of his coming here the less intriguing."

I can say that Nichols was *Another Drain Inspector* like Miss Mayo.

Nichols rushed into the Viceroy's House where Sir Stafford Cripps feared to tread as a member of the War Cabinet. From here Nichols began his *Intensive Study of Modern India* at the wrong end.

Indian journalists criticised Beverley's views as undemocratic and antediluvian. There is no doubt about it that he was 'armed with all manner of secret weapons of diplomacy and intrigue.'

In the year 1943-44 *Verdict On India* was the best seller in America. *The Reader's Digest* with its circulation running into millions published it in an abridged form because it wanted to poison the American mind.

Incidentally when the Indian Scientists Delegation, which was in U.S.A. at that time, sent a contradiction of a false statement in Beverley's book and the *Reader's Digest* refused to publish it, much as the *London Times* refused to publish a rejoinder to Miss Mayo's *Mother India* signed

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by almost all the leading Indian residents then in Britain.

In 1944 the British Government had engaged about 10,000 persons for the purpose of advocating the cause of British Imperialism in America. The government of India in that year was spending two and a half million rupees every year for anti-Indian propaganda in America. My readers would be astonished to know that the British Government in London was spending about ten to twelve million dollars every year for poisoning the minds of the Americans against India.

The Americans were wise enough to listen to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. They did not care for the anti-Indian poison spread in America by Sir Ferozekhan Noon or by Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar who were the agents of the Britishers.

Though Nichols spent over one year in India, he had yet to meet an Indian. He met Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs and also Christians and Parsis. But he never met any Indian. He met Bengalis, Madrasis and Pathans. He saw many coolies, capitalists, criminals, jail-birds, singing girls, untouchables, Anglo-Indians and even *pucca* British Sahibs. But it is really strange that he could not meet an Indian in India.

It was the *Quit India Movement* which brought Mr. Nichols all the way here to do his bit for the British Empire though Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress Leaders were kept out of his book.

By the end of 1942, 60,229 persons had been arrested. 18,000 were detained without trial. 940 were killed by police. Another 1630 were injured by the military.

Shooting a lion in a cage is neither bravery not sport. But Nichols was shooting the lion-hearted Indians who had been caged in the jails. There was no scope for Beverley's chivalry. Nichols had to spare much of that virtue which he did not at all posses.

Nichols had to justify himself and his mission by hook or crook. What he could not see with his own eyes, he had to invent.

The verdict which Nichols had really to pronounce against India, was; however, hidden in a giganitic smoke screen raised by Nichols to impress his readers and mislead his critics.

Out of 256 pages of his book, nearly 200 pages have been devoted to the tittle-tattle.

The pith and marrow of the *Verdict On India* lies in the chapter 'Heil Hindu.' The 'Hindu' is intended artfully to stand for Gandhi and followers of Indian National Congress.

The word 'Heil' is intended to draw out the alleged resemblances between them and the Nazis.

Almost the first thing that Nichols discovered about Mahatma Gandhi was that Gandhi was not an Indian. It is amusing to read Beverley's words: "Gandhi is violently repudiated by the overwhelming majority of 100 million Muslims, who regard him, quite rightly, as their most dangerous enemy."

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Beverley seems to be ignorant about Romain Rolland who regarded Gandhi as *more than a message*. It was Rolland who said about Gandhi—"He has incarnated himself as the best soul of his land."

Owing to Pearl Buck's courageous championship of India, Nichols has dismissed this Nobel Prize Winner as 'bucolic'.

How foolish Beveraley is when he calls Gandhi a dictator and Congress a fascist organization. In the words of Nichols: "Congress is the only 100 per cent, full blooded uncompromising example of undiluted Fascism in the modern word. Firstly it is Fascist in principle. Just as every Nazi is a superman, so every *Brahmin* is *Bhudeva*, which means "God on Earth." And Congress is, of course a predominantly *Brahmin* Organization."

On page 164 of *Verdict On India* we find the following words: "The *Khaddar-dhoti* and the Gandhi Cap, are the counterparts of Nazi shirt and swastika, no orthodox Congressman cares to show himself in any other costume on official occasions."

This is pure nonsense given to us by a man like Beverley Nichols.

Another Fascist portent which stuck out a mile into Beverley's ears was word, 'Gandhiji' which he says in a striking equivalent of the German 'Heil Hitler'.

The terminal '*ji*' is in theory an expression of respect and endearment and Nichols could not even understand this small way of Indians' addressing their elders.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League was a great hero for Nichols to whom Jinnah was a 'giant' and the 'the most important man in Asia' What a wonder it was from Beverley who called him the 'Potential Emperor of Pakistan!'

I can assume from Beverley's above-noted epithet's that he had been brought here by the British Rulers of India with a view to denegrade the Indians.

It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that if Nichols had aimed at mud slinging and brickbatting at the Hindus and reserved all the bouquets and garlands for the Muslims. It was not for the love of the Muslims or out of respect for Islam.

It is entirely in keeping with the political background of the *Verdict On India.*

Those who briefed Beverley Nichols must have warned him not to treat on the Muslim corns. Inspite of his protestations of the book being 'all his own work' there is not the least doubt that he had been briefed and primed for the job assigned to him by the British Rulers of India.

During a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly, it was pointed out that Nichols was accompained for a long time by Dr. Spear who was the Counter Propaganda Director in the Government of India and later on Dr. Spear was the official whip of the Assembly.

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During his prolonged stay in Madras Nichols was chaperoned by Captain Harvey of the National War Front. In his book Nichols refers to certains Muslims "who lost no opportunity to impress on me the decadence of Hindu philosophy."

"Hinduism is filth"—this is what a famous Muslim had said to Nichols in Delhi.

Nichols had quoted many instances to prove his point that Hinduism is a social disease.

He wanted us to believe in a Peshawar hospital "Muslim after Muslim bent over my bed, breathing fire and slaughter against the hated Hindu."

This is more an insult to Muslims than Hindus. It means that the Muslims during the British Rule had no other occupation than to breathe anti-Hindu fire and slaughter on the neck of the nearest Englishman. It seems to have been rather a bad case of Hinduphobia.

Inspite of all his enthusiasm for Pakistan, Nichols is somewhat wobbly about the exact population figures of the Muslims in British India. On one page he put down the Muslims as 85 million. On the very next he made a trapeze jump to a round 100 million.

In 1945 the total population of India was 383 million out of which 92 million (or 24%) were the Muslims. Excluding the population of the states British India's population was 295 millions. There were 20 million muslims.

These exact figures were not at all known to Beverley Nichols who should be regarded as a man full of sheer ignorance about the Indians of 1943.

When Nichols writes:

"Jinnah's 100 million Muslims will march to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding and nobody else's"—He was merely reducing the unborn state of Pakistan to a ridiculous pantomime show. Even the 79 million Muslims of then India had not the pleasure of being citizens of the would-be-Pakistan.

Nichols's ignorance is very much clear from many passages in his book. He becomes positively revolting when he discusses the complexion and marital ambition of the Anglo-Indian girl.

"British and American soldiers," Nichols tells us, "have been beseiged by offers of marriage, often accompanied by considerable cash inducements."

Nichols's observation that the Anglo-Indian was despised not only by the Indians and the British but also by himself might be one third true—as far as the Britishers are concerned. It is extremly unfair to judge the British people by a few freak types like Nichols.

On March 23, 1945, Mr Anthony, the President of the Anglo Indians delivered a speech in the Central Legislature Assembly, New Delhi. He said:

"*Verdict On India* by Beverley Nichols is a scurrilous and deliberately distorted vilification of India as a whole, inspired by smug racial arro-

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gance and a false sense of racial superiority. . . .

"I intend to take the buttons completely off the foils. Beverley Nichols has indulged in such unvarnished lies and in the lauguage of the bargee, that he has forfeited the right to ordinary criticism. A man who has sunk to such depths of distortion and fabrication would be impervious to ordinary criticism. And any impartial person reading this book will inevitably come to the conclusion, which I have come to, that Beverley Nichols is just another mental gutter-snipe. Yes sir, just another mental gutter snipe. His mind's eye has traversed a few gutters and from these he has sought to paint a picture of Indian Life generally."

Mr. Anthony added further:

"No one will deny to Beverley Nichols the fact that he has assumed the pornographic mantle of Katherine Mayo. To resort to false, lurid, pornographic writing in order to create controversy and in order, also, to create a market has not originated with Beverley Nichols.

"He merely runs true to the tradition of every shallow and pettifogging pornographers who indulge in meretricious writing on homosexuality, veneral disease and aphrodisiacs. I have no doubt that he would have written with same authority, acquired either firsthand or secondhand on these subjects. But instead, what do we find? This peripatetic penny-shovelling, muck raking journalistic sewer-rat has seen fit to libel—and here I would ask my Muslim friends to note that it is not merely libel against the Hindus—to libel India generally, including the Anglo-Indian Community, which I have the honour to represent in this House."

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3 *The Jewish Deception*

The Sanhedrin operated as the secret arm of the international Jewish movement. They had their headquarters in Vienna, Austria and the director of the centre of documentation for Jews. Most of their activities centred on terrorist activities against the nationalist Governments of Europe and the world.

The Sanhedrin also controled the activities of many of the European and Americans diplomats who belonged to the Jewish community, under disguise. Some of them were so well disguised that their Jewish Origin was not identifiable, and through many of the embassies and delegations of these countries they carried out their work of intelligence and espionage in all parts of the world, undermining all the governments within their reach.

The Jews went into such economic and commercial activities as prostitution, the liquor trade, the wine trade, and all sorts of illicit commerical enterprises which were prejudicial to the interest of people among whom they lived. In India they lived among the Parsis.

In India the Jews are spreading a new religion 'Bahaism' with a view to eradicate Hinduism of the European upper class, the Jews permitted intermarriages between themselves and the aristocracies of Europe. Today we find no aristocracy in Europe which is completely free from Jewish blood. This policy has opened the back door for the Jews to infiltrate into the upper hierarchy and ruling spheres, such as in England, where you will find a great part of the royal family who are Jewish. For example such English Lords and nobilities as the Readings, the Mancrofts, the Montagues, the Melchetts, the Samuels, the Burhams, the Northcliffes, etc. as well as the "barons Rothschild (English branch) and a multitude of lesser nobles, sires, etc. of her Britannic Majesty, are of Jewish origin.

There are lots of evidences demonstrating the way in which Jews disguised themselves as Muslims, Christians, Catholic, Zoroastrians, and even as Hindus. They disguised themselves as Zoroastrians when they were expelled from Persia and they went into India.

Their main objective was not merely that they serve as advisers and ministers in the kingdom of Europe and elsewhere, but to take over the whole government and run it in their own way and in their own interest. They did it by subverting the kingdoms, preparing the minds of the people,

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playing up with ideas aud building up of rebelliousness among the populations so as to cast off their natural leaders.

Before they undertook such adventures, the Jews always had the ground well prepared; the press; the preparation of the minds of the people—the psychological preparation; then infiltration into the rank and file of the ruling class of people. The way the Jewish elements in India, particularly the so-called Parsis, have achieved success in blind-folding the Hindus is phenomenal in this respect.

In 1920 a book entitled *The World significance of the Russian Revolution* was published by Basil Blackwell of Oxford England, The introduction of this book was written by a Jew Dr. Oscar Levy who was well-known in the literary circles in England at that time. Here are a few commentaries taken out from the introduction by Oscar Levy from the book written by George Pitt Rivers:

"Bolshevism is a religion and a faith. . . these saints thus rally around the flag of the prophet Karl Max, and those who fought under the strict direction of these experienced officials of all the revolutions of recent times are Jews. . . In the whole world there does not exist such an enigmatic race, more fatal, and at the same time more interesting than the Jews."

The Jewish organization B'nai B'rith has been working towards the undermining and infiltration of the Catholic Church all over the world as was disclosed by the *Catholic Gazette* of London, which published an article entitled *The Jewish Peril and the Catholic Church*, in February, 1935. It says, "Nobody can deny the fact that there existed and still exists a Jewish problem."

Culturally conquering a great part of India and all the way across the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain, the Jews became the indisputable masters of, not only the trade routes of the then world, but also the complete trade and commerce right from its source to its final destination, that is, all the way from India into Europe. This way they had the Christians completely at their mercy, and it must be remembered here that this situation is what led the Christian nations of Europe to try to seek another route to India.

In the 20th Century the art of infiltration has become the universal weapon for world domination. The art of infiltration is a perfected weapon, full of sagacity, subtlety and is not directed against a particular church or state but against all the churches and all the states. Through their infiltration, and their secret orders, the Jews have managed to penetrate into India.

Not only is the masonary being used as a powerful arm of the politico-judo infiltration movement but communism is said to be one of their strongest arms of today. The catholics accused communism of being an arm of Jewish world domination, and as a definite explanation of this, they point out the anticatholic-attitude of the communist revolution in India.

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The arrival of the Jews in large numbers in the United States and their infilteration into the economic, political and social life of the country has been a matter of preoccupation and discussion for the American people. It will be interesting to evalute some of the opinions of Henry Ford quoting the following extracts from his book entitled. *The International Jew*. It brings out the Jewish problem in the United States and elsewhere in its true perspective:

"The Question of the Jew is not only related to the fact that they dominate the Public as a whole, for example, their predomination in finance, commerce, industry, the media of communications, domination of all power centers, especially in politics, but also their domination of the cultural lives of the people, converting the whole matter to a vital problem.

"The Jewish question extends throughout South America and is transformed into a frightening factor in Pan-American relations. It is also mixed, to a high degree, with the critical occurrences with relation to the upheavals in which they maintain the nations in a state of constant alarm and nervousness.

"As a whole, this is not new; its roots go back to antiquity. Its long existence has produced various aspects of its possible solution which, in turn, projects certain light over the coming solutions. . .There exists as country in the whole world whose political developments can be understood in its true perspective unless it can be seen from the point of view of an absolute dependence on a plan which is coherent with Judaism for world dominations. No country in the world could resign itself to the illusion that it is free from the Jewish influence only because there are no Jewish synagogues around nor any visible Jewish colony."

Henry Ford tells us :

"In Eastern Europe, Bolshevism and Zionism exist together in the same way as the Jewish influence during the nineteenth century confounded and wove the republican and socialist ideas, and the revolution of the young Turks. And this is not because the Jews are interested in the positive side of the radical ideology, neither for their interest in participation of nationalism or democracy, but simply for their own self interest. We should not forget the definition which Theodore Herzl gave for the Jews, about which Jewish people are considered united under the idea of a common enemy. And we ask if this does not mean precisely the whole non-Jewish world that represents this enemy, and could this nation under the idea remain disorganized in spite of this fact? When it is observed how the Jews, not only in the United States, are united between themselves through the most varied organizations, which they have so highly constituted that among the jews and non-jews, they have managed to instill such a high degree of confidence and such organization, one of which is, of course, the B' nai B'rith, it is not obvious to suppose that what has been made possible in one or another country can be verified effectively in all parts of the world?"

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These extracts from "*The International Jew*" give a very clear idea of the dangers which the Jews present for India and the rest of the world. Much has happened since. Since then the Jews have been able to advance their interests in all parts of the world considerably and to exercise a greater degree of control over the nations through the International organization such as the United Nations.

It has been such a long time since people like Henry Ford wrote concerning the dangers which the Jewish race presents, for humanity. Thanks to the Second War and its aftermath, today the position of the Jews and the dangers which they post to humanity have become much greater than the time about which Henry Ford wrote.

It is difficult for the masses of America and even for the rest of the world, who are used to seeing the President of the United States as the most powerful man on the face of the earth to understand that the Eastern Establishment, has more effective power than the President himself.

The Eastern Establishment, naturally through the Jewish political movement, controls to a great extent the educational system and the intellectual life of India and not only influence, through the press, radio, television, movies and the editorial houses and other media of diffusion of ideas, in which there is an almost total Jewish monopoly.

The mouthpiece of the Establishment is supposed to be the *The New York Times* and in Washington, the *Washington Post* of the Jewish Eugene Meyer, who is also the owner of *Newsweek*.

The council of Foreign Relations has as its official organ the *New York Herald Tribune* controlled by the Jews Ogden Reid, Walter Lippman and Joseph Alsop.

The Kingmakers are 70 in number and their meetings are held very often, they meet at very isolated places and under very extraordinary measures of precaution. For example, the election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as presidential candidate of the Establishment for the 1960 elections was held by the Kingmakers on the 14th of February, 1957, four years before the elections in order to prepare the American public. That secret meeting was held at the "King and Prince Hotel" in the Island of San Simon, State of Georgia.

In 1964 the group of Kingmakers decided to designate Johnson and Humphrey as president and vice-president even before Kennedy was assassinated, that is, the moment when the secret group came to the conclusion that Kennedy did not serve their plans any longer. They decided upon his elimination from the political scene and to clear the way for their more docile instruments.

At the end of the Second World War, the Jewish stranglehold of American politics and the economy became greater, presenting a greater danger to American life then ever. Through their stranglehold on the American high finance, they organized the Marshall Plan and rushed in to capitalize on the massive destruction of European industrial and com-

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mercial life and spread their tentacles and stranglehold, more than ever before, over the German, Italian, French, and Indian people.

James Paul Warburg, who poses himself as one of the leaders of the world government declared: "We have a world government, whether anybody likes it or not. The plan is to arm the United States and to arm the World government which will help to bring about the domination of Marxism the world over. The forces of infiltration will bring about a rapid triumph."

The economy of the India is being bled to death on the one hand, the unpopular policies are causing a tremendous loss of face and the unpopularity of the country is growing day by day all over the world. On the other hand, social problems, stimulated by the Jewish interests, such as the press, movies, radio, television, editorial houses that play up degenerate novels and comic strips as well as a vast amount of pornographic literatures and serve as the breeding ground of juvenile delinquency; the intoduction of harmful narcotic drugs in the educational system to demoralize the youth even at a very tender age are weakening the Indian morals; on the other hand while it is true that American attitude towards race needs a total overhauling in order to avert future disaster for that nation, yet this issue is used to bring about social upheavals and racial bitterness among the people of India.

India has been given a mortal blow on its head and lying unconscious for almost one and a half century, the civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia etc. were reduced to ravages and oblivion, so too will the jews work to bring the destruction of India by getting this country involved in fruitless and endless wars with Pakistan and China.

The Jews have ingeniously prepared the United States, and armed it to the teeth to harass the weaker nations of the third world and drive them into a state of desperation. On the other hand, they have carefully cultivated communist Russia as the great champion of the downtrodden masses under its banner of false socialism. So while the United States militarists, controlled by Jewish global interests, keep the nations jittery, the role of Communist Russia is to offer security and give the defenseless and innocent peoples of the world the "HUG" of the polar Bear.

This is the "double role" of international Judaism: on the one hand to bully and threaten the security of the nations and on the other hand to tightly embrace them through mutual security arrangements and friendship pacts. This is why Nixon ordered the Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, and Brezhnev visited India in November, 1973 proposing an '*Asian Security Pact*'. The U.S.A. was announcing the building up of their naval power in the Indian Ocean and the U.S.S.R. was proclaiming the recognition of Bangladesh where Mujib-ul-Rehman was holding the reigns of his newly formed government. When Mujib seemed to be out of the control of the jews, the CIA had him removed for ever from the political scene. Even a member of Mujib's family was not allowed to live. All his kith and kin were murdered mercilessly.

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Dr. W. Liek, the author of the book *Participation af Judaism in the Defeat of Germany* says: "In the Germany the Jews were looked upon as guests. The Jews, on the contrary, feel a sense of indignation for not being conceded all the prerogatives of the native. They nurture hate against the people who are their hosts. In other countries the Jews were able to mix more freely with the native population and to increase their power with less interference. But in Germany this prerogative was not given to them. And for this reason the Jews hated the German people, and for this same reason precisely, these countries, where the Jewish influence predominated to a greater extent, demonstrated the greatest amount of hate for Germany during the deplorable world war. It was the Jews who predominated exclusively in the world informative apparatus, through which the public opinion was formed with respect to Germany. The only ones who gained during the great wars were effectively the Jews."

The Jews increased tremendously their influence in Germany. "After the war", says Henry Ford, "the winners were the Jews. . . ." In 1918 Germany was controlled by Rosenfeld, the Minister of Pardon and Justice; Hirsch, Government; Simon, Finance; Putran, Director of Instructions; Kastenberg, Direction for the Arts and Crafts; Wurm, Secretary of Administration; Dr. Hirsch and Dr. Stadhagen, Ministry of Development; Cohen, President of the Council of Workers and Soldiers; whose Jewish collaborators were Stern, Herz, Frankel, Loswenberg, Israelowitz, Laubeheim, Seligschcn, Katzenstein etc., Never had the Jewish influence been so great in Germany. They had established themselves with the help of the disguised bolshevism, and socialism the control of the press, the industries and food.

"German Jews Felix and Paul Warburg were co-operating in the United States in the war effort against the German government. Their brother Max. M. Warburg alternated in the meantime with the German government. The brothers used to meet in Paris in 1919 as representatives of their respective governments and delegates to the peace conference. . .

"Through loans, the Jews, infiltrated into the courts in Russia, as well as in Germany and England. Their tactics recommended : 'Straight to the Headquarters'. In the white House in Washington, the Jews always exercised great influence; and in Germany Walter Rathenau, a Jew, was the only one who had direct telephone commuication with the Kaizer. The International Jewish State which lives secretly among the other States Countries is called *Pan Judea*. Its principal medium of domination is capitalism and the press. The first headquarters of the *Pan Judea* was in Paris. After it was transferred to London and now it operates through New York (1920). Since *Pan Judea* disposes of the source of information from the whole world, it can prepare world public opinion for its immediate ends or objectives. The Berliner Tagblatt, Murchener, Neustnachrichten were supposed to be official organs of the German government; however, they decidedly defended the interest of the Jews. *The Frank-*

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furter Zeitung, upon which depended many other daily newspapers, is genuinely Jewish."

"Politically", said Hitler, "the Jews end up by substituting the ideas of democracy for popular dictatorship of the masses. The most terrible example of this order is offered by Russia, where the Jews, these literate bandits of the stock markets, with a really fanatical savagery, caused thirty million people to perish from hunger and the most ferocious form of torture with the sole objective of securing, by this way, their supermacy, their hegemony over the people".

"The big problem in Germany was the press which distorted facts", as Hitler said, "It gave much to think about. The fact that in the face of the power of the Jewish press, there does not exist any national newspaper of effective importance". In consequence, they set out to establish a newspaper in December of 1920, and Hitler succeeded through the Nazi party in bringing about the Boelkischer Beobachter. Hitler organized the flag of the Nazi Movement. The Red signifies the social ideals, while the nationalist ideas and the *Swastika,* "the mission to fight for the victory of the Aryan man and for the triumph of the idea of productive work, which is. and will always be anti-semite".

Hitler's idea was that the democratic parliament should not be constituted on the assembly of a group of wise men but should be recruited from the multitude.

The first World War was started in 1914 by a Safardite Jew, who belonged to Saravejo, Bosnia, called Gavril Principi Princip, on the 28th of June, 1914, when he assassinated the heir to the Imperial Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferninand and his wife who were on an official visit to that city. He produced the spark which eventually degenerated into the first world war. The Jewish subverters of Central Europe-Austria and Hungary-succeeded in infiltarating and exercising a certain degree of control and to unleash the world communist revolution in every country of Europe, especially Hungary and Germany. The Second World war was created by a Jew in Paris called Herschel Grynszpan, who assassinated the German diplomat in Paris, Ernest Von Rath; and as a measure of reprisal, Jewish businesses in Germany were damaged in what was known as the "cristal night", and the German government imposed a fine on the Jewish community in the amount of $ 400,000,000 in December of 1938 as a reprisal of this assassination.

As a result of this assassination, Roosevelt who was also a Jew, recalled his ambassador, Hugh Wilson, from Germany, and appealed to England to join with the United States in a combined commercial war against the Reich. This rupture was the first step towards armed conflict which ended up with World War II.

Roosevelt was very closely connected with the international jewish interest and this was kept an inconfessable secret for a very long time. He protested vigorously when the Germans broke the glass windows of Jewish businesses, and at the same time he kept an incomprehensible silence

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when people were being massacred in Russia. When the Nazis placed a fine of 4000,000, 000 dollars on the jewish community Roosevelt expressed such indignation that he said that it is impossible to believe that such things can happen in the 20th century, but he kept a tomb like silence about the murders and butchery committed in Russia by the Jewish marxist government shooting more than 100,000 prisoners. Never has there been a State that established itself in power and authority by such mass murders, but about these murders Rossevelt said nothing.

In 1936, Hitler made an attempt to forge close relations with Britain and he sent Ribbentrop to work out a peace treaty. King Edward VIII was sympathetic with this idea of working out an agreement with Germany but it was precisely in these days that a plot was hatched against him and he was forced to abdicate the throne, using as an excuse his matrimony with Miss Simpson. King Edward VIII abdicated in December 1936 and the friendship pact between Germany and England failed to materialize. The Jews paid Churchill handsomely for conducting a belligerent campaign with the collaboration of Eden, Vansittart and company. The Jews succeeded in their intent to take over the press.

On the 7th August 1933, six years before the war began, Samuel Untermeyer, President of the World Federation of Jewish Economy, said in New York during his speech: "I thank you for your enthusiastic reception even though I understand that it does not correspond to me personally but for the 'Holy War' for the whole of humanity which we are fighting. . . . it has to do with a war that has to be fought without rest or quarters until we clear the skies of the clouds of intolerance; racial hatred and fanaticism which has enveloped Germany and which is now Hitlerland. Our campaign consists, in one of its aspects, in the boycott against all merchandise, of ships, and other services from Germany". Observe how six years before he found the false pretext of Poland to declare war on Germany. The World Federation of Jewish Economy had already declared an economic war against Germany. The armed conflict which followed was only an extension of the economic war.

In 1938, the Jewish bankers Vaugh, Mendelssohn Wassermann, Warburg, and others made contacts with the Generals Von Witzleben and Halder, Chief of the High Court Command conspiring to overthrow Hitler, but the peaceful annexation of Austria frustrated this conspiracy.

The second World War eventually broke out. Germany attacked Russia; and Churchill placed all the resources of the British at the disposal of the Russians. And so did Roosevelt, who set his adviser Henry Hopkins immediately to Moscow. The United States began despatching arms of 427,000 trucks, 5,000 planes, 2,000 locomotives, 11,000 wagons 5,000,009 campaign telephones, 2,600,009 tons of petroleum products, 4,478,000 tons of food, 6 complete refineries, a complete factory of the production of tyres, great quantities of portable arms, medicines, prime materials, spare parts for machinery, workshop machinery and other tools.

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Churchill did not hesitate in offering 5,031 tanks, 6,000 planes, 4,600 anti-tank arms and 150,000,000 projectiles. Without this enormous flow of arms and materials it was evident that the red army would not have been able to stand up against the German attack.

On 30th January, 1939, Hitler reiterated his hope for peace with Britain and France, and said that the agitation in these countries was the work of the Jews. . . He again said that "if there is tension in Europe, it must be attributed in the first place to the irresponsible manoeuvres of a press without conscience, which does not let a day go by without sowing the seeds of intranquility all over the world." And he continued. . . . "We believe that if we can clamp down on the press, or if we can put a stop to the hostigation of the press, and of the international Jewish propaganda, only then will intelligence prevail among the peoples of the world. At this time a heavy campaign was going on in the United States through the Jewish press and other media of communication painting Germany as a country which threatened the independence and liberty of North America.

Sherwood, in the book *Roosevelt and Hopkins* clearly statetd that: "the country was faced with a Jewish manoeuvre to make us enter into the war", but this declaration was disregarded before the gigantic propaganda. It was precisely in these days that an employee of the American embassy in London, Tyler Kent, communicated to many of his friends that he had seen documents according to which Roosevelt had secretly committed the United States to the war in connivance with many eminent Jews.

The Jewish political movement succeeded in dragging the Western nations—Democrats and religious alike—to ally themselves unconditionally with the Jewish cause which was more furiously than ever striving to suppress liberty and eradicate religion.

The Jews of the West and those who had taken over Russia under Jewish Marxism formed themselves into solid from against Germany.

During the last four months of 1943, there were four attempts to assassinate Hitler. The Jewish-Swiss banker, Jocob Wallenberg made a trip to Berlin to interview Dr. Goerdeler, co-ordinator of the infiltration movement, in order to have Hitler assassinated.

As Germany fell after the war, the World Jewish Congress took upon itself to organize groups to collect proofs of Nazi brutality against the Jews. The lawyer Stephen F. Pinter, an official of the Department of War of the United States, was commissioned by his government to investigate the presumed killings of Jews in Germany during the war. He worked for six years in Germany, and at the end he declared that the so-called killings in the gas chambers were false and did not occur. The so called crematories were not used for burning the Jews, but they were used strictly for burning dead bodies as a result of allied air raids over Germany. The so-called "six milion Jews that were killed in gas chambers" were living alive in Israel in 1948.

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The establishment of communism in a country does not affect, in the least, jewish capitalism. It is the non-jewish capitalism which is annihilated. As for the rest, the jewish-marxist movement is converted into absolute owner of the state and the economy, That is, all the capital and all the power is passed on to jewish hands.

In his book *The Last Secrets on Pearl Harbour* published by the U.S. News and World Report, The American Admiral Robert A. Theobald confirmed that the attack on Pearl Harbour was deliberately planned by Roosevelt and served as a bait to invite a surprise Japanese attack. Theobald considered that President Roosevelt invited this attack deliberately in order to create a war psychosis in the United States and to recieve the support of the American public so as to justify his declaration of war against Germany and Japan

The American writer John T. Flynn refers to the ten days before the Japansse attack saying that "Roosevelt said to Stimson, Secretary of War, that the best tactic was to compel the Japanese to attack first. This will automatically lead to an official declaration of war and the problems will be solved this way. Roosevelt achieved what he desired. Naturally, the treacherous attack united the nation around his government (*The Roosevelt Myth*, by John T. Flynn). Roosevelt needed to invite this attack so that he could take his war to Europe and in this way save Jewish marxism. It is significant that the chief of the group of conspirators who encouraged the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbour were the Jews Richard Sorge, assisted by Makov, of the Red army.

Up to this point where this great international coalition organized its immense resources in its struggle against national socialism (Nazi), the the jews residents in Germany had not been personally interfered with their political and economic interests. For example, they were prohibited from indulging and promoting the vulgar art, sensualist music, vulgar dances and pornography and the dissolvent and debilitating theories of eternal moral values which created lax environment for the German population. It is not that the Jews lack moral; to the contrary, they are a people of admirable customs, sober and disciplined, but their leaders utilize all the impure currents that can do harm and debilitate the non-Jews; they do not consume poison but they distribute it.

In India also the Jews did their best to degrade the morals of our citizens.

The complicity of international Jewry in the Russian revolution has been borne out by the evidences and publications, many of which have been tampered by international Judaism to prevent its dissemination.

The Rev. Denis Fahey of Blackrock College of Dublin, Ireland, in his book entitled, *The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World* write thus.

"The capital document which deals with the financing of the Russian revolution was prepared by the American secret service and transmitted through the French High Commission to his government.

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"It was published by the Catholic Documentation of Paris on the 6th of march 1920, preceded by the following observations:

"The authenticity of this document is guaranted to us. The American secret service assumes the responsibility with respect to the exactitude of the information which it contains.

"This document has been mentioned in 1920 in a supplement of the newspaper *La Vieille France*! which wrote: "All the governments of the Entente are aware of this Memorandum which was written on the basis of the data furnished by the American Secret Service and remitted to the High Commission of France and his colleagues at the same time."

Communism, from its very beginnings, was forged as an instrument of world domination by the political Judaism and to be used as a lever towards this end. Everything is Jewish about communism; from the doctrine of Karl Marx to the methods of red subversion; to the communist propaganda; to the methods of Soviet diplomacy, etc.

There developed differences amongst the Jewish leaders of Russia in 1953 between the group headed by Stalin and that headed by Khruschev. Stalin was murdered on the 2nd of March 1953 although the cause of his death was given as heart and kidney affliction. A Russian secret agent, Kapanadse, who managed to escape death because he was an addict of Stalin said upon his arrival in the West: "On February 28th Stalin was looking very healthy and optimistic. In the Kremlin was waiting for him Khruschev. When Stalin arrived at his office he met with the high officials of the Communist Party. Voroshilov made reference to certain Jewish medical doctors and said to Stalin: "You have dishonoured the Party of Lenin. The realized that something was wrong and tried to telephone his assistant, but the line was cut off. Malenkov turned to him and said "The Kremlin is taken"! Stalin now knew that he was a prisoner. He was then taken prisoner and put to bed and on the 2nd of March he died, and not on the 5th of March as it was announced.

The Great Purge then began in Russia and the satellite countries of Eastern and Central Europe. All the adherents of Stalin were removed from office.

The publication *Trud*, organ of the Soviet syndicates, revealed that there were 7,500 Jews who formed part of the Supreme Soviet. *Soviet-Heimland* confirmed this information coinciding with 7,500 Jewish officials in important positions in the USSR.

After the "petty quarrel between family", which was followed by another "purge" of medium size, Krushchev was overthrown and imprisoned in October of 1964. Power remained in the hands of Leonid Brezhnev and Alexi N. Kosygin, (both Khazar Jews). The Jewish newspaper *The Canadian Jewish News* (13th November, 1964), and a report in *Newsweek* reverted that Brezhnev is married to a Jewess and his children are being educated as members of the Soviet-Jewish community. A. Mikoyan president of the Soviet Supreme, is also a Jew of Armeniam origin.

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In India the Soviets are making a very special and bold effort to get India on its side. This manoeuvre has as its objective the confrontation between India and China.

Will Durant in his book entitled *The Story of Civilization*, Part 1, said this about the Jews: "Out of these conditions and beginnings, and out of the rise of poverty and exploitation in Israel, came the supreme figures in Jewish religion-those passionate Prophets who purified and elevated the creed of the Jews, and prepared it for its various conquest of the Western world."

In the same book (pages 317-318) he stated the following:

"When however, the Assyrians besieged Jerusalem, Isaiah counseled Hezekiah not to yield. The sudden withdrawal of Sennachrib's hosts seemed to justify him, and for a time his repute was high with the King and the people. Always his advice was to deal justly, and then leave the issue to Yahaveh, who would use Assyria as his agent for a time, but in the end would destroy her, too. Indeed, all the nations known to Isaiah were, according to him, destined to be struck down by Yahaveh; in a few chapters (svi-xxiii) Moab, Syria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Babylon and Tyre (and India) are dedicated to destruction. Every one shall howl. This order for ruination, this litany of curses, mars Isaiah's book, as it mars all the prophetic literatures of the Bible."

The French, Dutch and Portuguese expeditions in India were financed by the Jews in part, and by the Pope of Rome. The Pope of Rome had given the Portuguese the *Bula* (which is a Papal Mandate) to go out and conquer India and the Indies in the name of the Pope and the Catholic Church to "christianize and civilize" the natives.

The British with their forward arm *The East India Company* finally routed the Mughal empire from power through their intrigues, direct military intervention, and by other foul means, thus bringing an end to the Mughal rule in 1857.

After 1857, the economy and politics came directly under the control of the British government. The process was started to destory all existing Indian institutions for all times to come. An educational system was designed by Macaulay so as to completely denude the Indians of their great cultural heritage, as he wrote in one of his letters to his father in which he boastfully said:

"Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully...The effects of this English education on the Hindu is prodigous. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of Education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; 'merely by the natural operation of knowledge' and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."

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The newspaper *Jewish Courrier and Jewish World* wrote on January 17, 1924:

"The Jews may adopt the customs and the language of the country in which they live, but that does not transform them into an integral part of the native population" (this is true of the Jews in India, especially the Parsis).

Not only do they exercise a dominant hold on the Indian economy, but they also dominate the national research programmes. The scientific programmes are totally dominated by such groups and the heads of such researches are recruited from one member to another of the same groups. Very seldom such positions are ever held by true Hindus.

The traditional Hindu rulers were removed from power, and with it a whole national tradition has been destroyed in the name of a secular democracy, Republicanism and equality.

Shri Nageshwar Anandat says:

"With the advent of the British and the setting up of the educational institutions, the secret and exclusive organizations such as the free-masonry, Lions clubs, Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, M.R.A. etc., the cream of Indian society has been drawn into such organizations under the pretext of humanitarianism and promise of social and economic advancement of its members. This has not only deprived the Hindu society of its natural leaders, but, to the contrary, these people have been recruited into such institutions that are secretly and in an extremely subtle manner, working for the total destruction of Hinduism in India and abroad, and to replace Hindu culture for a type of Western culture whereby all the good social norms and ethics of Hinduism is flung aside and Hindus encouraged to indulge in parties, dance, alcohol and adopt vile and vulgar modes of behaviour in the name of modernism, unortho-doxism and; liberalism."

On the other hand, the down-trodden masses are recruited into the mob institutions like the socialist, communist, labour organizations in the name of workers rights.

He adds further:

"If today Hindus are confused about the motive force behind the progressive disintegration of all their institutions, they must seriously consider the role played by international Jewry in the economic, political and social life of India by the many Jewish communities scattered through-out India from time immemorial-some visible and other under disguise, some of whom call themselves Parsis and other little communities here and there who disguise themselves as Hindus and others as Muslims, and yet others who disguise themselves as Christian missionaries, but are on the payroll of the C.I.A. and the world secret government.

E. Ikkanda Warrier in his book *Jews in India* cited a statement made by the Hon. Premier of Cochin, Eranakulum, thus:

"The smallest most loyal minority group which has for nearly 2,000 years identified itself with the development and progress of the country

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are the Jews. The Perumals in ancient Cranganore and the magnanimous Maharajas of Cochin have throughout extended the hand of toleration and sympathy to the Jews. The sight of the family temple of the Maharajas of Cochin standing side by side with only a wall in between with the Pardesi Synagogue in Mathomenerry is even today a standing monument to the toleration, sympathy and of political recognition extended to a small minority. According to historical evidence, a whole tribe of jews migrated into India after they were dispersed by the Assyrian King Saragon II and banished them to several parts of the world in year 719 B.C. One of these tribes which was designated the *Tamil tribe* due to the fact that they had settled-among the Tamil), settled in India, the other tribes migrating to Persia, Russia, Germany, Spain, North Africa, Ethiopia, Yeman and as far as Mongolia).

The *Contemporary Science Series* in an article named: *The Jews-A study of Race and Environment* by Dr. M. Fishberg, stated:

"In India several types of Jews are encountered, First, there are the recently arrived Jews, who do not differ at all from the types of Jews in the countries whence they came from. Then there are the native Jews, whose first settlement in India dates back to antiquity (about 719 B.C. when King Sargon II of Assyria drove them out of Jerusalem and dispered them to the far corners of the earth). Their parents have come thither from Persia, Yemen, and Southern Arabia, and some from Europe during medieval times. Those of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast, appear to represent the earliest settlers, and the original colony is alleged to have come to the Malabar Coast from Jerusalem, after the destruction of the second temple.

"In the Presidency of Bombay are found the 'Beni-Israel", another group of native Jews. Both groups are divided into two classes, the whites and the Black Jews. The White Jews keep aloof and do not associate with their black coreligionists who are said to be descendants of slaves owned by them. The black Jews are of a totally different type.

"Schmidt observed that the colour of their skin is of various shadings, ranging from fair, like that of the European Jews, to dark like that of *Dravidians* among whom they live. Occasionally one meets among them persons with a white colour of the skin which is hardly a shade darker than that of the Southern Europeans. Such persons also have Jewish physiognomy, which is so specific that one would be inclined to believe that they are of mixed Jewish blood, were they not so cruelly maltreated by their white co-religionists and treated as black Jews.

"On the other hand, most of the black Jews are hardly to be distinguished from the native Hindu living on the Malabar Coast. In the majority of cases, it can be easily discerned that they are of mixed origin; traits of both types are evident in the black Jews. They are kept at respectable distance. and not even permitted to enter the synagogues of the whites, nor do they burn their dead in the same cemetery."

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The Parsis were supposed to have entered India some 1,200 years ago and settled as refugees in Sanjan in Western Gujerat through persecution by the Arabs in Iran under Chalif Omar, followed by the Moslem conquest of Iran. It closes its ranks to all outsiders and they don't eat pork, having exactly the same tradition as the Jews.

Parsis of Ancient India, by Shapurji Kavasji Hondivala states thus:

"There is no good reason to doubt that the great majority of Parsis now living in India are descendants of a bank of Iranian refugees, who landed at or near Sanjan in the early centuries of the Yazdajardi Era, and were given assylum there by the Hindu ruler but the date of this landing and the identity of the Hindu ruler are matters of dispute, about which various theories have been put forward from time to time.

On same book on page 18 he further states: "The mention of the Parsis as a Kshatri tribe in the *Manusmriti* and their condition of having been condemned as *Sudras* on account of the omission of rites and transgressing the orders of the Brahmins does not prove that they are Indo-Aryans, as other tribes have been mentioned in the same strain who are distinctly foreigners which the word *Mleccha* justly signifies.

It may therefore be concluded that in the absence of sufficient data, the Parsis cannot be conclusively proved to be an identical section of the Indo-Arians, but may be safely asserted that they were the Earliest immigrants into India.

"The later history of the influence of the Parsis can be gathered from what prevailed at that time of the rule of the kings of the Mauryan Dynasty over India. It is surmised also that the Mauryan kings were the followers of Zoroastrianism, not unmixed with Buddhism however. Can it be said that the religious persuasion proved national identity? Nor can it be asserted that all Christians are Hebrews because Christ was a Hebrew by nationality. . . . . The Parsis settled themselves in India long before historical times and that they were not however Indo-Aryans may be fairly concluded". . . . It may be that the Parsis are an obscure horde of scythian origin from the provinces of Upper Asia who had migrated into India, and subdued by the Hindu kings who compelled them to adopt a last position in the scale of Hindu society as we know from king Sagora as related in the *Vishnu purana* and the *Harivansa*. . . . "It has often been contended that as conversion is enjoined in the older texts, it could not have been prohibited in Persia, but that it was prohibited only in India on the all-sufficing ground of the absorption of the community by the millions of the non-zoroastrians of India. . . It will take years, perhaps generations, before we have among us Parsis of wealth and influence such as would rise superior to popular trend of thought and devote their means to the ascertaining of truth, regardless of its provenance".

Will the Parsis ever tell the truth? Will they tell the world that they were expelled by some other king of Persia and not by the moslem invaders? Will they tell the world that they had been settling in india in

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waves perhaps about one century before the actual Moslem invasion and conquest of Persia? If they do, will that serve as an indication of their Jewish identity which they are not prepared to openly admit? Will they tell the Indian people that, while the British have left India almost bankrupt, that the Parsis in India were the major beneficiaries of the British Raj, under which they flourished and became the new aristocracies and maharajahs of India? Will they tell the people of India that, while a huge section of the population lay starving and homeless on the streets, that the Parsis live in the most secluded spots in their great mansions and treat the Hindus with a certain degree of contempt? Will they ever let the Hindus into their highly secretive temples to let them know that perhaps there functions a secret government which rules India from behind the curtains? Will they ever tell the truth so that others will identify their true origin? and know their history and their secret relations?

Nagechwar answers them thus:

"They will never let anyone know that they serve as the major link and are highly represented in such spooky international organizations and secret societies which are all working desperately to subvert India from within and without. Neither will they let the Hindus be aware of the fact that it is a Parsi who is flying the banner of the "Family (Genocide) Planning Programme" against unborn Hindus, the results of which is already statistically proven to make the Hindus a minority community in Hindustan."

Quoting an acknowledged authority on Judaism, Mr. Flavien Brenier, Lt. Gen. Natchvolowdow describes the policy of the Parsis!

"Before appearing proudly as the expression of Jewish aspirations, the tradition of the Pharisees had serious difficulties to surmount, the chief of which was the revival of the orthodox faith stimulated in the Jewish people by the captivity. To the exiles bemoaning the fall of the Temple of Jerusalem and begging Jehovah to end the misfortunes of their homeland, the revelation that Jehovah was only a phantom entailed not only certain defeat but also their own exposure to perils the last of which would have been the loss of all authority over Israel.

"The Pharisees than judging it wiser to capture the confidence of their compatriots by taking the lead of the religious movement, affected a scrupulous observance of the slightest prescriptions of the law and instituted the practice of complicated rituals, simultaneously however cultivating the new doctrine in their secret sanctuaries (Note of the author: Is this another reason why the Parsis of India maintain their tempels as secret sanctuaries?.) These were regular secret societies composed during the captivity of a few hundred adepts. At the time of Flavius Josephus which was that of their greatest prosperity they numbered only some 6000 members.

"This group of intellectual pantheists was soon to acquire a directing influence over the Jewish nation. Nothing moreover likely to offend national sentiment ever appeared in their doctrines. However, saturated

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with pantheistic Chaldeism they might have been the Pharisees who preserved their Ethnic Pride Intact. (Is this the reason why the Parsis of India maintain their ethnic pride intact?). This religion of Man divinised which they had absorbed at Babylon they conceived solely as applying to the profit of the Jew, The Superior and Predestined Being. The promises of universal dominion which the orthodox Jew found in the Law, the Pharisees did not interpret in the sense of the reign of the God of Moses over the nations, but in that of a material domination to be imposed on the Universe by the Jews. The awaited Messiah was no longer the Redeemer of original sin, a spiritual victor who would lead the world, it was a temporal king bloody with battle, who would make Israel master of the world and 'drag' all people under the wheels of his chariot. The Pharisees did not ask their enslavement of the nations of a mystical Jehovah, which they continued worshipping in public only as a concession to popular opinion for they expected its eventual consummation to be achieved. . .by the secular patience of Israel and the use of human means.

"Monstrously different from the ancient law were such principles as these, but they had nothing one could see; which might have rendered unpopular those who let them filter drop by drop among the Jews. The admirably conceived organization of the Pharisees did not fail soon to bear fruit. "One cannot better define its action in the midst of Jewish society before Jesus Christ," said Mr. Flavien Brenier, than in comparing it with that of the Freemasons in modern society (and the Parsis of India can certainly boast of dominating the upper hierarchy of the Freemasonry in India). A carefully restricted membership tightly bound, impressing on their members the religion of the secret, the Pharisees pursued relentlessly their noble aim which was:

1. The Seizure of political power, by the possession of the great Political offices, and the conquest of the Sanhedrin (Secret Jewish Parliament—the secret world government).

2. To modify gradually the conceptions of the people in the direction of their secret doctrine."

Shri Nageshwar again raises many questions:

"Do the Parsi have their own secret government in India, hence all this secrecy which surrounds their religions and private lives and their compactness as a community which has no relations with their Hindu neighbours? Why do Parsis occupy the most exalted positions in the upper hierarchy of the secret Societies such as the Freemasonry in India? Does this have any parallel to the Sanhedrin (Secret World Government organized by the Pharisees of Persia) centuries ago before their arrival in India? And why is Parsee history so shrouded with mystery the same as with their temples and private lives? Why do Parsis automatically find themselves occupying the most important positions in the government Administration, the military, banks (even the nationalized banks), owners of quite large number of newspapers and publishers of many of the magazines which are taking the Indians from stage to stage to a higher degree

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of corruption? These questions will have to find adequate answers if the present day dilemma of India and the Hindus of India is to be resolved.

Dadabhai Framji Karaka, a Parsi, in his book *History of the Parsis* wrote: "the most interesting epoch in Parsi history begins, at an early period of the 17th century, they had established a connection and intimate business relations with the different foreign factories which carried on trade in Gujarat and along the Western coast of India generally. Of these the principal at first was Surat, and there the Parsis were employed as middlemen or commission agents, not more by the Portuguese and Dutch than by the English. . .Parsi prosperity may be said to date from the first connection with the English. . .when Bombay became a British possession . .the Parsis at last found the opportunity of distinguishing themselves above their fellows, and of gaining a name (at the expense of India's freedom and the Hindus). European travellers had called attention to their good qualities at an early period of Western exploration (conquest) in the East, but it was only at the commencement of the 18th Century that they had found scope for employing them. While much of their business was done in the character of agents for the English and other Europeans, they were gradually extending their operations in directions which they had not previously thought of or attempted."

Again, in volume II, he wrote: "The Parsis were spoken of as rich, warlike (and in India they claim they are very peace loving people), wandering and clever (iike the jews). . .though the result of the campaign against the invaders of the Rana of Sanjan's country was disastrous to the Parsis who took so prominent a part in it (same as the Jews in Cochin) the reputation they acquired by their gallantry tended to greatly improve their condition and status, and promoted the interests of their small colonies with the ruling powers wherevere they happend to establish themselves (do the Parsis really have loyalty to India or do they switch their loyalty at their convenience?).

The same book (p. 228) reads: "The first Parsis in India had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindu practices in order to secure the protection, assistance, and goodwill of the Hindu princes, in whose country they took refuge."

About the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Parsis had this to say: "When the unhappy revolt broke out in the upper provinces of India, the Parsis had further opportunities of displaying their loylty to their rulers. They embraced the first opportunity of presenting an address to the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, assuring him of their loyalty and attachment to the British Government, and offering their services in whatever way they might be required in suppressing the mutiny. . .Every European and the whole of the English press acknowledged that this race will never be inimical to British rule. The best and most convincing proof of the loyalty of the Parsis will be found in the fact that, if there was an individual of this sect at any station where the revolt occurred, he suffered equally with the Europeans at the hands of the rebels.

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In the face of all these facts it can be safely concluded that the Parsis in India do not possess the character of the typical Indo-Aryan race such as the Iranians. Their traits are more akin to that of the Jews,

(1) Jews live as a compact community, they go to any part of the world. The Parsis do likewise.

(2) The Parsis have their secret government behind the Indian government. They copy the Jews.

(3) Jewish temples, places of worship, community life, libraries and place af study are prohibited to outsiders. The same applies to Parsis.

(4) Jews create separate educational institutions for their children in all parts of the world. Parsis are inclined to do the same.

(5) The Jews don't eat pork; neither do Parsis.

(6) Jews monopolize the mass information media worldwide. Parsis aim to monopolise the mass communication media in India.

(7) Jews dominate the industrial-technological field. So do Parsis in India.

Jews monopolize all power centres where real power and authority is vested. So do Parsis in India.

Jews control the drug, narcotics, alcohol, prositution trade worldwide. The Parsis admit participating in the opium trade between India and China. And who are the big sethjis who secretly run the houses of prostitution through their goondas?

The partition of India itself was an attempt to keep the country in constant turmoil and to prevent any political, economic or social progress. This was designed to keep India at the mercy of the armament dealers who are Jews, of course; to keep her struggling for existence. Pakistan was armed to the teeth with weapons and guidance from the invisible hands from without to keep the brake on India's progress. M.A. Jinnah the founding father of Pakistan himself, was suspected to be of Jewish origin, from both paternal and maternal sides. As the rumours go, he was supposed to be the illegal son of Firozshah Mehta, a Parsi, and a Khoja mother, both of these communities suspected to be of Jewish origin).

Shri Nageshwar Anandat Maharaj further says.

"From a great nation whose civilization and culture laid the foundation of the so-called 'Western Civilization', India has lost its grasp on its own solid and time-tested traditions. Indians have been brainwashed to Westernization, modernism, liberalism, secular democracy and such slogans which do not provide solutions to their problems. These ideas that have been created by the exploiters and subverters of liberty are creations of the masterminds of the secret world government to serve as traps so that the peoples of the world should become hallucinated by them and build their own prisons. These ideas are being transmitted through the educational institutions dominated by masonic influences so as to destory all non-jewish institutions and all civilizations of the world, particularly the civilization and culture of India and China which stand in their way to complete world domination. Innocent leaders are caught in

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this trap when entering educational institutions of higher learning, especially the exclusive aristocratic institutions of England. Pandit Nehru was drawn into this fray and was ordained in the masonic order, and who entertained the false illusion of leading India to economic independence, scientific advancement based on the Western ideas for the fulfillment of his social ideals, without realizing that neither the economic, political, social nor educational objective were possible under this system. To the country, it was demolishing completely all Indian institutions and way of life and leading the masses of India into a massive state of confusion.

"The leaders of India today have forgotten that it was not through the Western ideas that India had reached its most glorious epochs in history and had built its great spiritual, cultural and industrial potential."

Will Durant in his book *Our Oriental Heritage* praises the Indian civilization:

"The Hindus seem to have been the first people to mine gold. Herodotus and Megasthenes tell of the great 'gold-digging ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes which helped the miners to find the metal by turning it up in their scratching of the sand. Much of the gold used in the Persian Empire in the fifth century before Christ came from India. Silver, copper, lead, tin, zinc and iron were also mined —iron as early as 1500 B.C. The art of tempering and casting iron was developed in India long before its known appearance in Europe; Vikramaditya, for example, erected at Delhi (in 380 A.D.) an iron pillar that stands untarnished today after fifteen centuries; and the quality of metal, or manner of treatment, which has preserved it from rust or decay is still a mystery to modern metallurgical science. Before the European invasion the smelting of iron in small charcoal furnaces was one of the major industries of India. The Industrial Revolution taught Europe how to carry out these processes more cheaply on a large scale, and the Indian industry died under the competition. Only in our own time are the rich mineral resources of India being again exploited and explored but this time it is not done by Hindus but citizen Indians of minority groups whose origins are not well defined.

"The growing of cotton appears earlier in India than elsewhere; apparently it was used for cloth in Mohenjo-daro. In our oldest classical reference to cotton Herodotus says, with pleasing ignorance: "Certain wild trees there bear wool instead of fruit, which in beauty and quality excels that of sheep; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees. It was their wars in the Near East that acquainted the Romans with this tree-grown wool. Arabian travelers in ninth century India reported that 'in this country they make garments of such extraordinary perfection that nowhere else is their like to be seen—sewn and woven to such a degree of fineness that they may be drawn through a ring of moderate size'. The medieval Arabs took over the art from India, and their word *quattan* gave us our word cotton. The word muslin was originally applied to fine cotton weaves made in Mosul from Indian models; calico was so called

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because it came (first in 1631) from Calicut, on the southwestern shores of India."

"Embroidery" says Marco Polo, speaking of Gujerat in 1293 A.D., "is here performed with more delicacy than in any other part of the world."

Henry Ford, in his book entitled '*The International Jews*', Wrote:

"There exists no country in the whole world whose political devolopments can be understood in its true perspective unless it can be seen from the point of view of an absolute dependence on a plan which is coherent with Judaism for world domination. No country in the world should resign itself to the illusion that it is free from the jewish influence only because there are no Jewish synagogues around, nor any visible Jewish colony.

"Stock markets, Parliaments, the press, the theatres, are all part of the Jewish spirit, and nothing matters whether their visible agents be jews or not."

Nageshwar says:

On the one hand the secret world government, through its so-called humanitarian organizations such as the freemasonry, chambers of commerce, Lions clubs, Rotarian clubs, International Red Cross, Y.M.C. and Y.W.C.A.'s Communism and internationally affiliated groups are working to dominate and control the high finance and allied agencies, while on the other hand they promote socialism, communism to capture the imagination of the dispossessed, working class, and people of the underprivileged classes of society. From all sides the masses are being bombarded with slogans and propaganda, organizing of disruptive political and social currents in the name of party politics and trade unionism, students riots, and similar devices, all of which have mysterious international links. Not even the sacredness of the family institution is spared. Family Planning, and Women's Liberation movements are aimed at dissolving the family ties where there was once a well-knit social system and encouraging rebellousness among the women as a weapon to dissolve well-established social norms and deliberately encourage corruption in society. And, of course, all of these have financial backing and direction from some highly secretive international sources whose existence is mysterious."

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4 *Betrayal In Heavens*

The Valley of Kashmir was the very "Cradle of Culture". Dewan Jarmani Dass in his famous book Maharaja in the sixteenth chapter of his book says, thus:

"Kashmir is a dreamland full of delight and beauty set in the heart of the Himalayas. Its beauty of nature, its villages, its meadows, its hills, its snow clad high peaks, the learning and art of its people, their physical charms, its history of culture and civilisation have been the theme of poets and historians. These have been sung and written by poets and writers both of the East and West. Snow clad peaks, sparkling streams, majestically dense forests, sprawled tiny villages, extensive orchards with fruit and vegetation, limpid lakes of crystal waters, the great opportunities of trout fishing and big game shooting, enable the outside visitor to realise why the Mughal Emperors described Kashmir as the 'Paradise' on earth. It is said in the Persian Language *Agar Firdaus Bar Ruhe Zamin Ast, Hamin Asto, Hamin asto, Hamin Ast.* Translated into English it means: "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."

Called by some the Happy Valley, Kashmir has been for centuries past the fountainhead of art and culture in the East, apart from being an answer to man's eternal craving for the scenic grandeur and beauty of nature. And from Kashmir arts, handicrafts, her music, customs and ideas, one could easily form an idea of her artistic and cultural heritage.

Kashmir has a great past. Its history is perhaps more ancient than that of any other part of India. The Aryans, when they first set foot on Indian soil, made Kashmir as one of their earliest homes. Seekers after truth from far and wide came to Kashmir for learning and knowledge. Shaivism of the new form grew and throve here and then spread enlightenment to other parts of Asia. A distinctive cultural and spiritual tradition was thus founded in Kashmir, and shrines and temples reminding the people of this high tradition sprung in different parts of the country. The architectural ruins and remnants to-day are the remainders of those high and brilliant spiritual values.

Truly has it been remarked by Dr. Neve in his book, *Thirty Years in Kashmir* that, "ancient India has nothing more worthy of its early civilisation than the grand remains of Kashmir—the great *Martand* temple

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situated near the sacred spring of *Bhavan* or *Mattan* on the Srinagar-Pehalgam road."

The temples of Awantipur and Pandrethan and the ruins of Paraspur, the temples of Pattan, the remains of Harwan, perhaps only one of the oldest kind in India, the cave temples of the fifth and sixth centuries at Bhanjo near Anantanag and higher above the ruined temple near Thyon and Vangat in the *Harmukhy* peak, the temple of Shankaracharya—the ruins of Puri Mahal, the Shah Hamdan, a mosque—the Hari Parbat fort, the Jama Masjid—the Khanka Mulla at Khaniyar and numerous other specimens of architectural greatness, all combine to give a vivid impression of how different influences from the Buddhist Gandhara, Hindi and Islamic architecture, give the Kashmir architecture a peculiar character.

For centuries before Chirst the spiritual and intellectual greatness of India in general and Kashmir in particular had reached the acme of its fame, far beyond the confines of the Eastern world. Varied thought currents went to other parts of Asia from the Nara-nag University of Kashmir which was the fountainhead of knowledge and learning and its literary and cultural movements became dynamic forces in time. The Chinese traveller Heun Tsang when he came to study in Kashmir (631-33 A.D.) was so full of praise for the learning and crudition of Kashmir Pandits that his record of the visit is an eternal tribute to their achievements in high learning and spiritual attainments. "This country was distinguished in learning from remote times", wrote Heun Tsang with the pen of admiration, and their priests were all of high religious merit and conspicuous virtue as well as marked talent and power of clear expression of doctrines and thought. The priests of other countries were distinguished in their own way. They could not be compared to these, so different were they from the ordinary classes."

Still another authoritative account after Heun Tsang comes from the pen of Ou-K-ong, who came to Kashmir in 760 A.D. and lived in the valley for four years and wore the garb of a Buddhist *Bhikshu*. He says that there were more than 300 monasteries in Kashmir and religion was flourishing.

Through centuries, Kashmir attracted saints and scholars from afar because of its peculiar geographical position and being the meeting ground of different land routes bounded by Tibet in the East, Chinese Turkistan and Russia on the North and Afghanistan on the West, it served as an important rendezvous for various races and ideas.

All land routes connecting the East and West as well as the various parts of the Eastern world converged in Kashmir. Religious missionaries and priests, traders and travellers, pilgrims and political emissaries and official itinerants, all came and influenced and enriched the life of the people.

Kashmir and its background is so vast and prolific that one could write volumes. . . The valley of Kashmir has indeed been called the Jewel

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of Asia, the Eden of the East, the Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies, and so on, by various writers, but the country as a whole sheltered by the narrow mountains, passes and towering ranges of the Karakoram and Himalayas is of great interest to the people of the whole world, governed by strategy of interests to-day more than aesthetic attractions.

For administrative purposes the state had been divided into four provinces: 1. Jammu 2. Kashmir 3. Laddakh and 4. Frontier Province of Gilgit, comprising the settled districts and the political agency covering the outlying districts and principalities of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin and Ishkoman.

In all the four divisions, Governors appointed by the Kashmir Government carried on the administration but in Gilgit the pattern was a bit different owing to the presence of the Political Agent, a representative of the British Government.

The Political Agent residing at Gilgit held jurisdiction over the outlying district which, though under Kashmir suzerainty with their governors, came in due course to be the exclusive beat of the British Political Agent. It was this sort of dual government coupled with the strategic importance of the place that resulted in the eventual slipping away of the trans-Indus portion of the Gilgit provinces from the control of Kashmir in 1935 on a lease of sixty years in favour of the British Government of India.

Kashmir's unique geographical position on the map of India makes it one of the most strategic points in the world. Lying to the north-west of India the State of Jammu and Kashmir is the coverging point of many big powers. Its boundaries extend from the northern outskirts of the vast alluvial plains of the Punjab to the point where the borders of many independent countries meet those of the Indian Union.

It is bounded on the north by the Karakoram range, including the Chinese Turkistan and Russian Turkistan, on the east by the high tableland of Tibet, on the west by the North West Frontier and the independent kingdom of Afghanistan. On the southern side lies the Punjab, now divided into East Punjab and West Punjab. The state is thus encircled by Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Tibet and Afghanistan.

Kashmir commands and defends the northernmost frontiers of India is therefore of great importance to India. The land is kept constantly guarded by high Himalayan ranges with only one opening in the North and that through Gilgit.

Gilgit has therefore rightly been termed the 'Gibralter of India' and and used to be called the brightest jewel in the crown of the British empire in India.

It is its great value stretegically which always kept the British authorities in India trying to get the region out of the control of the Dogra Government of the Maharaja and many wars, the tricks employed diplomatically and politically to draw this important territory directly under British control in its relation to the frontier problem as a whole."

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After citing Dewan Jarmani Das's beautiful and enchanting description of Kashmir, we shall now discuss the affairs of modern Kashmir.

Mr. Alan Campball Johnson who is the author of a famous book *Mission with Mountbatten* tells us that when India was partitioned, Sheikh Abdullah was in jail but the National Conference was active under its leaders, with the Muslim Conference peering over the border of the State into Pakistan which had begun to take a shadowy form in the fire and smoke of burning towns and incredible slaughter. The new Prime Minister of Kashmir, Kak, was a man without a vision and equally bereft of tact and political judgement. Meanwhile the ruler, had he listened to reason, could have, by acceding to India or Pakistan before 15 August 1947, turned the course of events into less turbulent channels, but he preferred to sit on the fence and mark time. Had he acceded to Pakistan, India would have accepted his decision, as Lord Mountbatten, then our Governor General, had already assured the ruler on behalf of the Government of India. If the ruler had chosen to cast his lot with India, no problem would have arisen, because before August 15, 1947 Pakistan was not at all born.

The ruler had dreams of an independent Kashmir. He offered a standstill agreement to both India and Pakistan. This was done by telegrams. The ruler was, therefore, asked to send a representative to Delhi for discussion. As required under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, existing arrangements of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the new Government of India continued.

Invasion by Irregulars was followed by a full-fledged invasion by the regular army of Pakistan. In a telegram which the ruler sent to the British Prime Minister on October 15, 1947 he Stated:

"People all along the border have been licensed and armed with modern weapons under the pretext of general policy which does not appear to have been followed in the case of internal districts of West Punjab. Whereas military escorts are made available for several other purposes none is provided for safe transit of petrol essentials of life. Protests merely elicit promises which are never implemented. As a result of obvious connivance of the Pakistan Government the whole of the border from Gurdaspur side up to Gilgit is threatened with invasion which has actually begun in Punch."

The people of Kashmir took positions to defend their town. In the words of Nehru:

"Srinagar was in peril and the invader was almost on its doorsteps. There was no administration left there, no troops, no police, light and power had failed and there were a vast number of refugees there and yet Srinagar functioned without obvious panic and the shops were opened and people went about the streets. The National Conference and their unarmed volunteers, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, took charge of the situation, kept order and prevented panic. It was a wonderful piece of work that they did at the moment when the nerves of most people might

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have failed them. They did so because of the strength of their organisation but even more so, because they were determined to protect their country from the ruthless invader who was destroying their country and trying to compel them by terrorism to join Pakistan. Whatever the future may hold, the people of the Valley of Kashmir have exhibited during these past few days remarkable courage and capacity for organisation and unity."

Abdullah described the Kashmir crisis in the following words as reported in the *Hindu* (28th Oct, 1947):

"Soon after my release I heard of preparations along the western borders of Kashmir for some kind of invasion or raid. Armed people infiltrated into the State territory and in many places there were armed conflicts. I came to Delhi to preside over the Standing Committee of the States' People's Conference. The very day I returned to Srinagar, news came that a large party of armed and well-equipped raiders travelling in motor lorries had entered Kashmir via Abbotabed Road near Muzaffarabad. These raiders created havoc and looted Muzaffarabad and other places. They marched towards Srinagar. It was obvious also that this invasion was meant to coerce and compel the people of Kashmir to act in a particular way, namely, to accede to Pakistan. Every Kashmiri was shocked by the raid and the ruin in the trail of this raid. Every Kashmiri resented the compulsion on his will. The question of accession to India or Pakistan became a secondary issue and the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his motherland against the intruder. They refused to be compelled to accede to Pakistan in this way.

"I came to Delhi for a few hours to consult my colleagues and to explain the present critical position in Kashmir to members of the Government of India. I asked them on behalf of the people for help in resisting this brutal raid. The Maharaja's Government had also made this request to the Government of India. I am now going back to my people in Kashmir to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defending our heritage and our homeland and to share with them the perils and sorrows that may be in store. I know the spirit of my people and I am sure that we shall triumph in the end. I appeal to all lovers of freedom in India or Pakistan to stand by the people of Kashmir in this hour of trial and to denounce the raiders who have come to bring sorrow and disaster to our country.

"In the name of the people of Kashmir," said Abdullah, "I invite observers from all countries, especially Islamic countries to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the homes of those very Muslims for whose very deliverance they pretended they were coming in the name of Islam as "friends from Pakistan."

The Hindustan Times (20th November 1947) records thus:

"The invaders who came in the name of Pakistan to make us believe that they were true servants of Islam," said the outraged Abdullah, "scorched our land, ruined our homes, despoiled the honour of our women and devastated hundreds of our villages. These lovers of Pakistan

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dishonoured even the *Quran* and desecrated our mosques which they turned into brothels to satisfy their animal lust with abducted women." Where were Jinnah and Liaquat Ali when poor Kashmiri Muslims were fighting for their independence in Kashmir?"

This was the question asked by Abdullah who said on October 10, 1948: "The first proof of this was its demand to kill every Hindu and Sikh and to usurp their property." He doubted whether the Muslims of Pakistan could be called genuine Muslims since they had violated the last precept prescribed by the Prophet during his final pilgrimage, namely, to protect the life, honour and property of fellow human beings, irrespective of caste, colour or creed."

Addressing the Muslims of Pakistan in his Id message of 4th October 1949, he said: "In view of what you have done in Muzaffarbad, Mirpur, Kotli and Rajauri, is it possible for you to call yourselves Mussalmans of a representative Muslim State? You belong to a group of false priests who profess one thing but act otherwise."

This is how the army of Muslim Pakistan treated the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Abdullah's address to the Jammu and Kasmir Constituent Assembly on 5th November 1951 demonstrates graphically the secular enthusiasm of Kashmir." I may be forgiven if I feel proud that once again in the history of the State, our people have reached a peak of achievement through what I might call the classical Kashmir genius for synthesis, born of tolerance and mutual respect. Throughout the long tale of our history the highest pinnacles of our achievement have been scaled when religious bigotry and intolerance ceased to cramp us and we have breathed the wider air of brotherhood and mutual understanding.

"The most powerful argument which can be advanced in Pakistan's favour is that Pakistan is a Muslim State and a big majority of our people being Muslims the State must accede to Pakistan. This claim of being a Muslim State is of course only a camouflage. It is a screen to dupe the common man, so that he may not see clearly that Pakistan is a feudal State in which a clique is trying by these methods to maintain itself in power. In addition to this, the appeal to religion constitutes a sentimental and a wrong approach to the question. Sentiment has its own place in life, but often it leads to irrational action.

Here we give the extracts from the inaugral address of Shekh Mohammed Abdullah who delivered it to the Jammu & Kashmir Constitutent Assembly on November 5, 1951:

I may be forgivcn if I feel proud that once again in the history of this State, our people have reached a peak of achievement through what I might call the classical Kashmiri genius for snythesis, born of toleration and mutual respect. Throughout the long tale of our history the highest pinnacles of our achievement have been scaled when religious bigotry and intolerance ceased to cramp us, and we have breached the wider air or brotherhood and mutual understanding.

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"You are no doubt aware of the scope of our present constitutional ties with India. We are proud to have our bonds with India, the goodwill of whose people and Government is available to us in unstinted and abundant measure. The Constitution of India has provided for a federal union, and in the distribution of sovereign powers has treated us differently from other constituent units. With the exception of the items grouped under Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communication in the Instrument of Accession, we have complete freedom to frame our Constitution in the manner we like. In order to live and prosper as good partners in a common endeavour for the advancement of our peoples, I would advise that, while safeguarding our autonomy to the fullest so as to enable us to have the liberty to build our country according to the best traditions and genius of our people, we may, also by suitable constitutional arrangements with the Union, establish our right to seek and compel Federal cooperation and assistance to this great task, as well as of our fullest cooperation and assistance to the Union.

"The future political set-up which you decide upon for Jammu and Kashmir must also take into consideration the existence of various subnational groups in our State. Although culturally diverse, history has forged an uncommon unity between them; they all are pulsating with the same hopes and aspirations, sharing in each other's joy and sorrows. While guaranteeing this basic unity of the State, our Constitution must not permit the concentration of power and privilege in the hands of any particular group or territorial region. It must afford the fullest possibilities to each of these groups to grow and flourish in conformity with their cultural characteristics, without detriment to the integral unity of the State of the requirements of our social and economic policies."

On Martyrs' Day, the 13th of July, 1950, the Government declared its policy of liquidating the big landed estates and transferring land to the tillers of the soil. On the 17th of October 1950 was enacted the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act. By this Act the right of ownership in respect of lands in excess of 22¾ acres of land, excluding orchards, grass and fodder farms and fuel reserves, was abolished and such land was decreed to be transferred to the actual tillers to the extent of their possession. In this way, the right of the cultivator to the ownership of land in his possession was recognised and endorsed and no new class of intermediaries or rent-receivers was allowed to come into being. "The abolition of landlordism is thus an accomplished fact and there's no going back on the decision already taken. The Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, however, provides for the Constituent Assembly to settle the question of compensation with respect to the land from which expropriation had taken place. That question is now before you for decision.

"Finally, we come to the issue which has made Kashmir a subject of world interest, and has brought her before the forum of the United Nations. This simple issue has become so involved that people have begun to ask themselves, after three and a half years of tense expectancy: Is

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there any solution? Our answer is in the affirmative. Everything hinges round the genuineness of the will to find a solution. If we face the issue straight, the solution is simple.

The problem may be posed in this way. Firstly, was Pakistan's action in invading Kashmir in 1947 morally and legally correct, judged by any form of international behaviour? Sir Owen Dixon's verdict on this issue is perfectly plain. In an ambiguous term he declared Pakistan an aggressor. Secondly, was the Maharajah's accession to India legally valid or not? The legality of the accession has not been seriously qusetioned by any resposible or independent person or authority.

"These two answers are obviously correct. Then where is the justification of treating India and Pakistan at par in matters pertaining to Kashmir? In fact, the force of logic dictates the conclusion that the agressor should withdraw his armed force, and the United Nations should see that Pakistan gets out of the State.

"In that event, India herself, anxious to give the people of the State a chance to express their will freely, would willingly co-operate with any sound plan of demilitarization. They would withdraw their forces, only garrisoning enough posts to ensure against any repetition of that earlier treacherous attack from Pakistan.

"These two steps should have gone a long way to bring about a new atmosphere in the State. The rehabilitation of displaced people, and the restoration of stable civic conditions would have allowed people to express their will and take the ultimate decision.

"We as a Government are keen to let our people decide the future of our land in accordance with their own wishes. If these three preliminary processes were accomplished, we should be happy to have the assistance of international observers to ensure fair play and the requisite conditions for a free choice by the people.

"Instead invader and defender have been put on the same plane. Under various garbs, attempts have been made to sidetrack the main issues. Sometimes, against all our ideals of life and way of living, attempts to divide our territories have been made in the form of separation of our State religion-wise, with ultimate plans of further disrupting its territorial integrity. Once an offer was made to police our country with Commonwealth forces, which threatens to bring in Imperial control by the back door. Besides the repugnance which our people have, however, to the idea of inviting foreign troups on their soil, the very presence of Common wealth troops could have created suspicions among our neighbours that we were allowing ourselves to be used as base of possible future aggression against them. This could easily have made us into a second Korea.

"Through the struggles that the people of Kashmir waged against autocracy, we should never forget that the Muslim League leadership had completely disassociated itself from them, and that, during the upsurge of 1946, their local party organs had assisted the administration to suppress the movement.

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"At this crucial time, then, Pakistan was under strict cover of secrecy, perfecting her own plans, and *the Dawn*, the Muslim League official organ in Karachi, was appealing to the Maharajah to accede to Pakistan on the grounds that he would have far greater freedom there than in India.

"It was at this stage, taking advantage of the isolation of the Kashmiris from the rest of the world, that Pakistan imposed an economic blockade upon us with a view to starving us into submission. Attempts were made even to excite communal hatred to disrupt our peaceful civic life. Even in the face of such provocation, the National Conference, I am proud to say, took an objective and democratic stand. Immediately on my release from imprisonment, I clarified the issue at a mass meeting in Srinagar. The first and fundamental issue before us was the establishment of a popular Government. Our objective might be summarised as *Freedom First*. Then alone could we—as a free people—decide our future associations through accession. I also made it clear that the National Conference would consider this issue without prejudice to its political friends as a whole. I said that, in the state of tension and conflict that obtained both in India and Pakistan, it was difficult for the people here and now to predict what the final shape of both would be.

"You will realise, therefore, that we could not be accused of being partial to one side or the other. During that period we openly discussed the matter with representative of the Muslim League who had come to Srinagar for this purpose. We even sent one of our representatives to Lahore to acquaint the authorities in Pakistan with our point of view. We were thus still struggling against autocracy and for freedom when the State was suddenly invaded from the side of Pakistan."

"The tribesmen who attacked the state in thousands, killed, burnt looted and destroyed whatever came their way, and in this savagery no section of the people could escape. Even the nuns and nurses of a Catholic Mission were either killed or brutally maltreated. As these raiders advanced towards Srinagar, the last vestige of authority, which lay in the person of maharajah, suddenly disappeared from the Capital. This created a strange vaccum, and would have certainly led to the occupation of the whole State by Pakistani troops and tribesmen, if, at this supreme hour of crisis, the entire people of Kashmir had not risen like a solid barrier against his aggressor. They halted his onrush, but could not stop him entirely as the defenders had not enough experience in training and equipment to fight back effectively. There is no doubt that some of them rose to great heights of heroism during these fateful days.

"When the raiders were fast approching Srinagar, we could think of only one way to save the State from total annihilation—by asking for help from a friendly neighbour. The representative of the National Conference therefore, flew to Delhi to seek help from the Government of India. But the absence of any constitutional ties between our State and India made it impossible for her to render us any effective assistance in meeting the aggressor. As I said earlier, India had refused to sign a Standstill

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Agreement with the State on the ground that she could not accept such an Agreement until it had the approval of the people. But now, since the people's representatives themselves sought an alliance, the Government of India showed readiness to accept it. Legally the Instrument of Accession had to be signed by the Ruler of the State. This the Maharajah did, while accepting that accession, the Government of India said that she wished that "as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by reference to the people."

Actuated by a sincere desire to aviod bloodshed and further conflict, the Government of India approached the Security Council in 1948, with a complaint against Pakistan. The request was simple. The contention of India was that Pakistan was responsible for the invasion of Kashmir and was continuing to help the raiders who had been employed as mercenaries for this purpose. And it was further said, that, legally bound as India was to clear the Jammu and Kashmir State of raiders, she might be constrained to pursue the invaders to their bases in Pakistan, which might lead to a still bigger conflagration. India, therefore, wanted the Security Council to dispose of the case as quickly as possible in the interests of world peace. If this had been done, conditions would have *ipso facto* come into being when the people of Jammu and Kashmir would have expressed their will with regard to the continuance of the succession to the Dominion they had joined. This was not to be.

"As a realist I am conscious that nothing is all black or all white, and there are many facets to each of the propositions before it. I shall first speak on the merits and demerits of the State's accession to India. In the final analysis, as I understand it, it is the kinship of ideals which determines the strength of ties between the two States. The Indian National Congress has consistently supported the cause of the State people's freedom. The autocratic rule of the Princes had been done away with and representatives' government have been entrusted with the administration. Steps towards democratisation have been taken and these have raised the people's standard of living, brought about much needed social reconstruction, and, above all, built up their very independence of spirit. Naturally, if we accede to India there is no danger of a revival of feudalism and autocracy. Moreover, during the last four years, the Government of India has never tried to interfere in our internal autonomy. This experience has strengthened our confidence in them as a democratic State.

"The real character of a State is revealed in its Constitution. The Indian Constitution has set before the country the goal of secular democracy based upon justice, freedom and equality for all without distinction. This is the bedrock of modern democracy. This should meet the argument that the Muslims of Kashmir cannot have security in India, where the large majority of the population are Hindus. Any unnatural cleavage between religious groups is the legacy of Imperialism, and no modern

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State can afford to encourage artificial divisions if it is to achieve progress and prosperity. The Indian Cunstitution has amply and finally repudiated the concept of a religious State, which is a throwback to medievalism, by guaranteeing the equality of rights of all citizens irrespective of their religion, colour, caste, and class.

"The national movement in our State naturally gravitates towards these principles of secular democracy. The people here will never accept a principle which seeks to favour the interests of one religion or social group against another. This affinity in political principles, as well as in past association, and our common path of suffering in the cause of freedom must be weighed properly while deciding the future of the State.

"We are also intimately concerned with the economic well-being of the people of this State. As I said before while referring to constitution-building, political ideals are often meaningless unless linked with economic plans. As a State, we are concerned mainly with agriculture and trade. As you know, and as I have detailed before, we have been able to put through our 'land to the tiller' legislation and make of it a practical success. Land and all it means is an inestimable blessing to our peasants who have dragged along in servitude to the landlord and his allies for centuries without number. We have been able under present conditions to carry these reforms through; are we sure that in alliance with landlord-ridden Pakistan, with so many feudal privileges intact, that these economic reforms of ours will be tolerated? We have already heard that news of our Land Reforms has travelled to the peasants of the enemy occupied area of our State, who vainly desire a like status and like benefits. In the second place, our economic welfare is bound up with our arts and crafts. The traditional markets for these precious goods, for which we are justly know all over the world, have been centred in India. The volume of our trade, in spite of the dislocation of the last few years, shows this. Industry is also highly important to us. Potentially, we are rich in minerals, and in the raw materials of industry; we need help to develop our resources. India, being more highly industrialised than Pakistan, can give us equipment, technical services and materials. She can help us too in marketing. Many goods also which it would not be practical for us to produce here—for instance, sugar, cotton cloth, and other essential commodities—can be got by us in large quantities from India. It is around the efficient supply to such basic necessities that the standard of living of the man-in-the-street depends.

"... It may be pointed out that accession to India will open up possibilities of utilising our forest wealth for industrial purposes and that, instead of lumber, finished goods, which will provide work for our carpenters and labourers, can be exported to India where there is a ready market for them. Indeed in the presence of our fleets of timber-carrying trucks, river transport is a crude system which inflicts a loss of some 20 percent to 35 percent in transit.

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"Still another factor has to be taken into consideration. Certain tendencies have been asserting themselves in India which may in the future convert it into a religious State wherein the interests of Muslims will be jeopardised. This would happen if a communal organisation had a dominant hand in the Government and Congress ideals of the equality of all communities were made to give way to religious intolerance. The continued accession of Kashmir to India should, however, help in defeating this tendency. From my experience of the last four years, it is my considered judgement that the presence of Kashmir in the Union of India has been the major factor in establishing relations between the Hindus and Muslims of India. Gandhiji was not wrong whan he uttered words before his death which paraphrase, 'I lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.'

"As I have said before, we must consider the question of accession with an open mind, and not let our personal prejudics stand in the way of a balanced judgement. I will now invite you to evaluate the alternative of accession to Pakistan.

"The most powerful argument which can be advanced in her favour is that Pakistan is a Muslim State, and a big majority of our people being Muslims, the State must accede to Pakistan. The claim of being a Muslim State is of course only a camouflage. It is a screen to dupe the common man, so that he may not see clearly that Pakistan is a feudal State in which a clique is trying by these methods to maintain itself in power. In addition to this, the appeal to religions constitutes a sentimental and a wrong approach to the question. Sentiment has its own place in life, but often it leads to irrational action. Some argue, as supposedly natural corollary to this, that on our acceding to Pakistan our annihilation or survival depends. Facts have disproved this. Right-thinking men would point out that Pakistan is not an organic unity of all the Muslims in this sub-continent. It has, on the contrary, caused the dispersion of the Indian Muslims for whose benefit it was claimed to have been created. There are two Pakistans at least a thousand miles apart from each other. The total population of Western Pakistan, which is contiguous to our State, is hardly 25 million, while the total number of Muslims resident in India is as many as 40 million. As one Muslims is as good as another, the Kashmiri Muslims if they are worried by such considerations should choose the millions living in India.

"Looking at the matter too from a more modern political angle, religious affinities alone do not and should not normally determine the political alliances of States. We do not find a Christian bloc, a Buddhist bloc, or even a Muslim bloc, about which there is so much talk now-a-days in Pakistan. These days economic interests and a community of political ideals more appropriatly influence the politics of States.

"We have another important factor to consider, if the State decides to make this the predominant consideration. What will be the fate of the one millon non-muslims now in our State? As things stand at present,

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there is no place for them in Pakistan. Any solution which will result in the displacement or the total subjugation of such a large number of people will not be just or fair, and it is the responsibility of this House to ensure that the decision that is taken on accession does not militate against the interests of any religious group.

"As regards the economic advantages, I have mentioned before, the road and river links with Pakistan. In the last analysis, we must, however, remember that we are not concerned only with the movement of people but also with the movement of goods and the linking up of markets. In Pakistan there is a chronic dearth of markets for our products. Neither, for that matter, can she help us with our industrialisation, being herself industrially backward.

"On the debit side we have to take into account the reactionary character of her politics and States policies. In Pakistan, we should remember that the lot of the State's subjects has not changed and they are still helpless and under the heel of their Rulers, who wield the same unbridled power under which we used to suffer here. This clearly runs counter to our own aspirations for freedom.

"On this historic day, we remember the Prime Minister of India, our cherished friend and never failing comrade on this difficult journey and, besides an illustrious son of Kashmir, the many friends in India and some even in Pakistan, who in the years before partition, helped us forward. We remember the Ahrars who went to jail in their thousands for us; Badshah Khan and our friends ever forget our kith and kin across the cease-fire line who are at present living under the heel of the enemy. Their welfare is always dear to us and we shall continue to regard them as an integral part of ourselves."

Abdullah continued to emphasize the special features of his government's policy on formal and informal occasions. On the occasion of Id on June 24, 1952, he said: "Our relationship with India is not a product of sentiment. We have contracted this relationship after giving it ample thought and deliberation. We have taken this step because our ideal and our path is common and one. Those who want to weaken these relations are not only playing a traitor to the sacred principles of humanity but also indulging in a dangerous game with the independence and freedom of their country."

On July 26, 1952 in Srinagar he said that Kashmiris could not have achieved so much progress if she had acceded to Pakistan because the rule of Nawabs and Jagirdars was being perpetuated there and Pakistan is were being subjected to tyranny and exploitation as in the days of the British. And on the following day he proclaimed the secular and democratic character of India: "In India there is complete freedom and equality for everyone. In this very India we are terminating to-day the 106 year old ruling dynasty of Kashmir. If India were a Hindu country, how could it have supported us in doing away with a Hindu Maharajah? But in Pakistan old Nawabs still rule."

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Kashmir had united with India because it was at one with it in the ideals of justice, equality, and humanity. He said at Indore on 12th September 1952: "We believe in these principles, we believe in them now and we shall continue to hold fast to them till our last breath."

B.L. Sharma says:

"Abdullah's political leadership stood riven by an internal conflict brought about by divided faith in secular and sectarian principles. He did not realise that he could not have secular democracy to which he continued to show allegiance simultaneously with his new attitude to Pakistan and communalism which perverted that allegiance."

Mr. B.L. Sharma, the famous author of *Kashmir Awakes* writes in Chapter Ten of his book *Transformation of Abdullah* in a most beautiful way. In my review of that book I must reproduce it here what Mr. B.L. Sharma has observed:

"Time was to reveal how close Abdullah's identification with Pakistan was and how this identification posed a new challenge to the State Government and administration. After seizing power in Pakistan in 1958, one theme on which President Ayub played again and again was his insistence that there were three parties to the Kashmir dispute—India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiri people. On September 26, 1963, Ayub referred to his suggestion that a solution should take into account the feelings of "all the three parties to the dispute"—the people of Kashmir, the people of India, and the people of Pakistan. He said that "it might be necessary to create some kind ofmachinery, possibly at the ministerial level or lower, to consider the fee lings of all the parties." After his release in 1964, Abdullah began to harp on exactly the same theme.

"At a post-prayer meeting held in Jammu on 10th April 1964 he echoed what Ayub had said, namely, that there were three parties to the dispute India, Pakistan and Kashmir. Any workable solution could be based only on the right of self-determination, and representatives of the three parties should evolve such a solution. Not only did he keep on playing on this note until he was arrested in May 1965, but on his release in January 1968, he took up the cry again. There were three parties in the situation and a permanent solution could be found only with their agreement.

"Now it cannot be denied that Pakistan is a party to the dispute. Has she not committed agression in Kashmir on two occasions and is she not in occupation of nearly one-third of its territory? But then her position is one of agressor who is required to vacate agression. This is not the sense in which Abdullah or Pakistan looks at the question. It is Abdullah's contention that Pakistan has a claim on Kashmir which should be admitted and reconciled with the claims of the other two parties—India and Kashmir. By doing this Abdullah executes a remarkable somersault. With one stroke of the brush he has whitewashed Pakistan's guilt, fastened upon her not only by India, not only by himself in the period 1947-52, but also by independent observers and agencies appointed by the United Nations. In other words, all that Pakistan did between 20th

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October 1947 when she invaded Jammu and Kashmir and his last release, is of no consequence, since evidently, according to Abdullah, the basic problem has changed. The issue for him is no longer one of Pakistan agression or its vacation but of appeasing the aggressor. He could not ignore Pakistan as a party to the dispute, he once said, because one-third of the State was in its possession with nearly a million people.

"In the light of these facts, it is small wonder that he has not condemned the new relationship between Pakistan and China. Neither is he bothered about the gift of over 2,000 square miles of Kashmir territory which Pakistan made to China. Neither Pakistan nor Abdullah has condemned Chinese agression in Ladakh, much less calling upon China to vacate it. What is more, Abdullah thanked Chou En-lai in Algiers in 1965 for his invitation to China, an invitation extended to him through Pakistan "We are most gratified by the affirmation of China's support for our cause." he said. It is significant that Abdullah has not thought it fit even to raise his eyebrows over Pakistan's second aggression in Jammu & Kashmir in 1965. On the contrary he has tried to justify it by arguing that this shows how urgent the problem is. The implication is that the attitude of India left Pakistan with no choice except to take recourse to force.

"His identification with Pakistan is not partial but complete. Having raised Pakistan to the status of a party, attributing to it a legitimate interest in Jammu & Kashmir, he has been echoing all the propaganda slogans uttered by Pakistan leaders. Both deny vehemently that Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union, and assert that the issue of accession is still to be decided. According to Pakistan, the State's accession to India was brought about by fraud and violence; according to Abdullah it is at best a "provisional" accession, and. in any case, irrelevant. He denies that the State's accession to India was confirmed by the Constitutent Assembly of the State. Kashmir's accession to India was confirmed by the Constituent Assembly of the State. Kashmir's accession to India was provisional, he said, and confined to three subjects—defence, external affairs, and communications. "To repeat that Kashmir is an integral part of India is utter nonsense." Sometimes he was evasive. When asked if he considered Kashmir an integral part of India, he smiled and replied: "We are part of the subcontinent."

Further Mr. B.L. Sharma comments on Sheikh Abdullah's various stands in the following words:

"Besides, his concept of self-determination is unique. Its reality and character change with his moods and take on alluring shapes in the magic glass of his fancy. According to his own statement, the accession was final and completely right upto the approval of the Delhi Agreement by the State's Constitutent Assembly in 1952. Then there was no question of the Kashmiris exercising any right of self-determination which, according to Sadiq, had not been mentioned in any resolution of the National Conference. After his detention in 1953, particularly after the *coup de tat* in Pakistan, he suddenly became aware of this right and held it aloft as

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the only goal worthy of the Kashmiris. And yet he said that if India and Kashmir could evolve a solution, Pakistan would accept it or, in any case, would have to accept it. Or that if Pakistan and India arrived at a settlement, it would be acceptable to the Kashmiris. The first alternative, considering his close affinity for Pakistan, is inexplicable; the second sacrifices the Kashmiri's right of self determination on which he waxes eloquent on the platform. Thus, it is not a right of self-determination but a political convenience. Since circumstances are contemplated in which this right does not have to be exercised at all, it is not even a convenience —it is a mere trick, as it is with Pakistan, a trick which is played to suit the occasion.

"If the accession is non-existent or at best provisional, and if the people of Kashmir have still to exercise their right of self-determination, what is their political status and his own? At first he tried to hedge over the issue of his nationality. When this did not succeed, he took shelter behind the plea that he was a 'citizen of the whole subcontinent.' This failed to carry conviction, because after all citizenship is not such a vague matter. What difference would it make, he asked, whether he came from India or heaven. On the eve of his departure for Pakistan in May 1964, he claimed that he was going to that country as Sheikh Abdullah. The Government revealed in Parliament that in his application for a passport to visit foreign countries in 1965, he has answered a question which was not applicable to him and described himself as a First Class subject of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, but signed the application as national of India. And yet he insisted in denying his Indian nationality. When pressed hard after his release in January 1968, he said he was a 'provisional' national of India. Once he resented the question on the ground that he was a signatory to the Indian Constitution as a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the obvious suggestion being that his Indian nationality needed no proof and should not be questioned. This was in 1969." Speaking at the convention sponsored by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan which met in New Delhi in the first week of February 1970, Abdullah called upon the minorities to win the confidence of the majority. 'We must consolidate the trust in us and prove that we shall be second to none in laying down our lives for the nation. We are all Indians and will live and die in India.' And yet a few days later at Jaipur: 'When I say India is my country, I do not say Pakistan is not my country. Thus, he was Indian. north-Indian, both and neither. Once he had forced open the door of the world to make believe, these pantomimes became inescapable'.

Even more ludicrous developments were in train. He began to describe the State of Jammu & Kashmir as a 'country' or a 'nation'. From this it followed that the Indian army whose praises he had sung on many occasions, describing it as an army of liberation, was an army of occupation, a favourite theme of Pakistan leaders. Addressing a religious gathering at Hazrat Bal, he declared that India was in 'forcible occupation' of Kashmir. "India cannot remain long in Kashmir by force of arms," he

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declared and asked what was the sanction behind India's presence in the State except force? When did Kashmiris ask for the 'stationing of lakhs of troops and thousands of policemen?' Earlier at Anantnag he had assured everyone that India could not stay on in Kashmir by force because that would be to her own detriment. If she persisted in this policy a war like the one in 1965 would erupt again.

"From this to the treat that if India refused to surrender Kashmir to him, force would have to be used, was but a step. In 1964-65, after professing for sometime his peaceful intentions and the importance of a peaceful solution, be began to breathe fire. Even soon after his release he did not refrain from showing a mailed fist. He said at Anantnag that neither with the help of the Army nor by repression could the people's determination be crushed. 'India may stumble along for a few more years but that will not solve the problem.' On the occasion of Id prayer in Srinagar, he was even more emphatic. 'I will either secure a life of freedom and dignity for the Kashmir nation or die.' India should realize that she could not 'carry a nation (Kashmir) with her on the strength of her army and with the help of a few paid agents. The United States with all its strength could not keep Cuba under its control. In today's world no nation can be suppressed with the help of rifles.' To a religious gathering he declard: 'We will either secure our birthright of sacrifice every thing in the struggle. There shall be no compromise. Kashmiris would try their utmost to secure a peaceful solution of the problem, but if peaceful methods fail, we, shall have to launch a struggle. Such a struggle would not be peaceful, he warned: 'For our part, we are determined to recover our independence and our sovereignty, be it by respect for our people's will or by force.'

"He has been giving a repeat performance since his release in January 1968. The people of Kashmir are poor and have no arms, but their resolve to live a life of honour is firm. He told the people to be prepared to face 'any eventuality'. 'I do not know what trials face us in the future.' Freedom was never given but taken. There could be no compromise on the demand for self-determination. We either achieve it or get perished in the struggle.' India's 'display of armed might' would not cow down the people of the State. A situation might arise in Kashmir 'which will force the Indian Government to settle the Kashmir problem.' The young people were not committed to peaceful methods and were thinking of resorting to violence if India refused to grant them the right of self-determination. Describing the present rulers of Kashmir as 'traitors' who had sold national independence for a paltry sum,' he said, 'they were being sustained by Indian guns and gold.'

Mr. B.L. Sharma writes not only beautifully but also confidently. He says: "The rousing of communal passion as an instrument of State policy has been a favourite weapon of Pakistan leaders. Abdullah has not failed to emulate them. Apart from the fact that he addressed congregations in mosques and at other Muslim religious places, as on the occasion of

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Muslim festivals, and prefaces his address with a recitation of the Quran, he attempted to incite Muslims to violence after his release in 1964, as he has attempted again since his release in January 1968. The identification of the two, Pakistan and Abdullah, was expressed without any qualification by no less a person than President Ayub and accepted by Abdullah without a challenge."

Here we produce a letter which Abdullah wrote to Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan.

"While giving your views on federation in your book *Friends, Not Masters*, you have amongst other things said: 'When Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg came to Pakistan in 1964, they too had brought the absurd proposals of a confederation between India, Pakistan and Kashmir. I told them plainly we should have nothing to do with it. It was curious that whereas we were seeking the salvation of Kashmiris, they had been forced to mention an idea which, if pursued, would lead to our enslavement. It was clear that this was what Mr. Nehru had told them to say to us. I do not blame them because they were obviously acting under the compulsion of circumstances but they left me in no doubt that their future was linked with Pakistan.' In order to keep the record straight I would request you to refresh your memory as to what actually I told you when I met you along with Mirza Afzal Beg, for I find certain discrepancies in your above statement. We never carried with us any cut and dried proposal for the solution of the Kashmir dispute and, to be fair to the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he never forced us to put before you any particular proposal. No, we are not made that way. My sole purpose in visiting Pakistan and meeting you was to pursuade you to agree to a summit meeting with the Prime Minister of India so that a solution acceptable to all concerned could be found at the conference table. When asked if I had any specific solution in my mind I told you clearly that I had none except the one that emanated from the United Nations and to which both India and Pakistan agreed. Incidentally I referred to a number of other possible solutions suggested from time to time by various people and friendly countries. It was in this sequence that confederation between India, Pakistan and Kashmir was mentioned by me as it was also being suggested as one of the possible solutions. Of course this particular proposal was vehemently denounced by you. Such a solution, you felt, would encourage the forces of disintegration not only in Pakistan but more so in India. My advice to you, however, was not to reject any proposal outright but discuss its pros and cons in a friendly manner at the conference table and convince the other side that a particular solution would not lead to ultimate peace which ought to be the common objective of all. My whole emphasis was that the parties must give up their rigid attitude and be prepared to listen to the view point of the other side without attributing motives. Both India and Pakistan had unfortunately got too much involved in this dispute and, therefore, such a solution only must emerge from the conference table which the parties could present to their respective

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peoples as the just solution under the prevailing circumstances. None should leave a conference table with a sense of defeat."

According to Mr. B.L. Sharma: "Abdullah inspite of all his talk about the conference table, had already cast his lot with Pakistan. Here was a grave allegation which Abdullah accepted without demur, particularly after Pakistan aggression in 1965 which had destroyed all her pretensions of being anxious to seek a fair solution of the problem. Abdullah thus wears his intentions on his sleeve."

Mr. B.L. Sharma asserts that "If he could echo Pakistan slogans and arguments, he could also act to accomplish the Pakistan design."

On August 7, 1964 in Srinagar, Abdullah, said that Hindu newspapers came out with lengthy editorials criticizing the Plebiscite Front and 'the freedom movement of Kashmir'. Addressing a religious gathering at Hazrat Bal, Abdullah threatened a possible use of violence if peaceful methods failed to secure for the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination. He was still preparing the people for the need of a change, if necessary a change by violence. "The Kashmir issue is a question of life and death struggle for us." He told a meeting of his followers in early November. The State's economic conditions, the people were told, had deteriorated during the eleven years of 'misrule' and there had been no industrial development.

The administration has deteriorated to such an extent that there is in fact no administration. Our border with Pakistan is disturbed and every day innocent people are killed and their crops destroyed. The ruling party is divided and the two factions are bitterly fighting each other. The Assembly ceased to be representative of the people long ago. Under these conditions what are the people of Kashmir expected to do? They cannot remain like this for ever. The time has come for both India and Pakistan to take up the Kashmir question with the urgency it deserves. Any delay in doing so will force the people to think of other courses of action to decide their destiny.

According to a Pakistan newspaper, Abdullah had uttered a warning that if peaceful methods failed to bring about a satisfactory solution, the people of Kashmir would be prepared to make sacrifices. At the annual session of the Front at Sopore, Abdullah came out in the open. "It was meaningless to argue in a negative way that a Kashmir solution was possible only when India and Pakistan agreed to it," he said addressing the convention. "The right to decide their destiny belongs to the Kashmiri people and no power, however, mighty, could deny it to them. It was because the people had not exercised that right that there had been no Kashmir settelment." This meant that there were no longer three parties in the dispute, as he had contended earlier. Since he was singing Pakistan hymns, it meant, in fact, that there were only two parties to the dispute, Pakistan and Kashmir, which could do what they liked. Thousands of Indians, he asserted, could not deprive the Kashmiris of their right of self-determination. He said nothing about the Pakistan troops standing in the

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way of Kashmir. Then he came to the real point. The Kashmir Maharaja and the majority of the State's population belonged to two different religions and "since the Maharaja's armies provoked Pakistan by suppressing the Muslims of Punch, the trouble arose and under the stress of circumstances, he acceded to India." He concluded: "Just as British imperialism finally bowed to India, time will soon come when India will have to bow to the will of Kashmiris."

So the agitation, according to Abdullah, was really religious, not political, and his object was to separate the majority of the State's people who are Muslims from the Section of the population to which the ruler belonged and which consist of Hindus.

Addressing a public meeting at the Hazrat Bal shrine held under the auspices of the Plebiscite Front to protest against the proposed extention of Articles 356 and 357 of the Constitution of India to the State, he warned the people that any Muslim who became a member of the Indian National Congress, a unit of which had been set up in the State, would "not only dig his own grave but of the whole nation." The formation of the Congress unit in the State was not to bring freedom to the Muslims in the State but to "tighten the chains of slavery on them". Any Muslim who became a member of that organisation, he declared, ceased to be a Muslim. Besides, those Muslims who wanted to form a Congress base in Kashmir should be boycotted. "Conspiracies that were being hatched in India against us must be made unsuccessful. The Muslims of Kashmir must demonstrate that not even one of them was with the Congress. The time for appealing to India in the name of justice and ethics was over."

So great was the resentment in India against Abdullah's activities that the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, had to make a statement in the Lok Sabha on April 5, 1965. "His meeting Chou En-lai and his accepting an invitation to visit China is extremely objectionable. Sheikh Abdullah's seeking Chinese support in regard to Kashmir which China has invaded and parts of which it is illegally occupying amounts, in the Government's view, to a highly prejudicial act." All endorsements on his passport except those necessary for the purpose of Haj pilgrimage were cancelled. The validity of has passport as well as the passport of other members of his party was limited up to April 30, 1965. Now that Abdullah had shown his hand, Sadiq referring to the activities of the Plebiscite Front workers, said his Government was determined not to allow any kind of rowdyism in the State. Brines has observed: "The Indians were legitimately concerned that Abdullah's flirtation with Peking could become a serious threat to them."

When with American tanks Pakistan struck in the Rann of Kutch (part of the Gujarat State of the Indian Union), Abdullah threatened to use force in Kashmir. He embarked on a highly suspicious diplomatic campaign. At Jedda in Saudi Arabia, he declared: "For our part, we are delermined to recover our independence and our sovereignty, be it by respect for our people's will or by force. We shall obtain our complete

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freedom." He had asked King Feisal of Saudi Arabia for his Government's help. "King Feisal assured me of his total backing."

In a note giving the background leading to the placing of restrictions on Abdullah's movement when he returned to India, the Union Government stated that although it had shown Abullah "every possible consideration," he had misused the freedom permitted him by law and the Constitution. "Sheikh Abdullah has become almost a mouthpiece of the Government of Pakistan," stated the note. He had abandoned his faith in the need for communal harmony.

Mr. B.L. Sharma says on pages 153-54 of his book; *Kashmir Awakes*:

"In his statement made in the Rajya Sabha on May 8, 1965, the Home Minister informed the House that on their return from abroad, the Government had served orders on Abdullah and Beg with a view to preventing them from acting "in a manner prejudicial to the defence of India, civil defence, public safety and the maintenance of public order ... Their activities during the last two months or so made it clear that unless some restrictions were placed on their movement they would act in a manner prejudicial to the internal and external security of the country."

As one of his former colleagues observed Abdullah "gave a call to his impatient followers of Targi Mawalat (social boycott) of the State Muslims who had joined the 'Hindu' Congress. It unleashed forces of disorder, lawlessness and hooliganism. The Government was left with no alternative but to arrest over 200 prominent workers of the opposition,"

"In the name of God I swear that I shall remain faithful to the National Conference and its leader Sheikh Abdullah." This is the oath administered by the Sheikh to 19 of the 24 State ministers who were in town on September 22.

He said the remaining ministers—including Deputy Chief Minister Afzal Beg—who were out of town on the day, would also have to take the oath "if they want to remain in the council of ministers."

He said he will administer the oath to all the N.C. legislators also.

However, instead of asking Beg to swear loyalty to him, Sheikh asked him to resign, which the latter did.

Many men here wonder why the Sheikh had to administer an oath concering himself and his party and not concerning the country or the constitution. They are also amused at the wording of the oath which would suggest that the party is Allah, and he is the Prophet.

However, the development has not come as a surprise to insiders in Srinagar. Shekh Abdullah is 73 and he got a bad heart attack last year. Afzal Beg, Deputy Chief Minister, who suffered with him and went into the wilderness for two long decades, would like to succeed him. But the Sheikh's family is in no mood to let the office of Chief Minister go out of the family.

Their first preference was for Begum Abdullah to succeed the Sheikh. But they soon realised that Government of India has too much incrimina-

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ting evidence against the Begum. It was only on the insistence of Bakshi that Government did not implead her as a co-accused in the Kashmir conspiracy Case involving dealings with Pakistan.

They would like the Sheikh's son-in-law, G.M. Shah, Minister for Food & Transport, to succeed him. They would also like the Sheikh's elder son, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Director of the multi-crore Sher-i-Kashmir Medical Institute, to be inducted into the Government—and to take over from G.M. Shah after a few years.

The Sheikh has admitted as much. He said: "My son Farooq is interested in politics but I have held him back. However, the future belongs to the youth,"

Beg has different ideas in the matters. Apart from himself, he would like his son-in-law, Yaqub Beg, M.L.C. to stand in the line of succession.

The result is a virtual war of succession. The Sheikh's family has a feeling that Beg has kept the populous Anantnag district unit of the party a close preserve for his group. And Beg has a feeling that his men have been kept out of the crucial Srinagar unit.

Recently Beg said in the Assembly that the 23 years spent out of office were "wasted years", when they were all in "vagrancy." He seemed to suggest that the Sheikh should not have quarrelled with the Government of India the way he had. The Sheikh, even though he is a very much sobered down man, did't relish being dubbed wrong by his deputy. He, therefore, condemned Beg's statement as "fantastic nonsense."

More recently, Beg's son-in-law Yaqub, defied the party whip and voted against the Town Area Committee Bill clause, authorising the Government to supercede any Committee, without assigning any reason.

But an even more serious issue cropped up between the two leaders in the recent Council elections.

About a fortnight before the elections, there was an announcement that following negotiations between the Deputy Chief Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, and the Congress (I) leaders of the State, an agreement had been arrived at National Conference that would leave two out of the four Council seats of Jammu region for the Congress (I).

But a few days later another report said that National Conference had backed out of the pact with the Congress (I) because Shri G.M. Shah, the Minister for Food & Transport and son-in-law of the Chief Minister Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, had challenged this agreement in the face of Mirza Beg in presence of the Congress (I) leaders, asserting that Shri Beg was not authorised to strike any deal with the Congress (I). Meanwhile Beg group did not get any party ticket from the Jammu area.

There were three seats for the Valley of Kashmir. For these, the National Conference nominees did include Shri Yaqub Beg, son-in-law of Mirza Beg, but he was reportedly allotted only 13 votes whereas the votes of 20 members each were allotted to the other two candidates. But in actual voting Shri Yaqub Beg secured 31 votes, 18 more than the

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allotted strength, while two other Sheikh group candidates got 19 and 16 votes only.

This showed that a number of N.C. members voted for Shri Beg ignoring the party whip. He is also believed to have secured the votes of 7 member group of the Congress.

In return the Congress (I) got votes of at least five National Conference members for its nominee in Jammu region and thus, the Congress (I) candidate Shri Fateh Mohammed won with 15 votes although his own Party has 7 members only. And the National Conference candidates in Jammu region could get in all 48 votes although the party strength in the Assembly is 53.

This was more than the Sheikh family could take. And so they decided to strike at the Beg group—and strike at it hard. As a wedding gift to the family he struck at Beg with his oath ceremony on the eve of the marriage of his grandson. He hit Beg below the belt when he suggested that he might be conspiring to throw him out of office like Bakshi did in 1953. And he even took Law and Judiciary from Beg, hoping the latter wold resign in protest. But the shrewd Beg kept his cool. He was in Delhi for the Chief Ministers' Conference—where he deputised for the Sheikh—but he refusee to make any comment.

Although the Sheikh has delighted his family and brow-beaten his party men, he is not likely to have impressed the people. The common man here adores the Sheikh but he is not exactly enamoured of VIPs choosing their sons-in-law to succeed them.

Interestingly enough Sheikh Saheb seems to have a weakness for administering oaths. Early in 1953 also, he had got his Cabinet collegues to swear loyalty to him in the name of Allah. They all did. But that did not prevent his ouster a few months later.

However, there is no question of anything of that kind happening now because it is a small party affair, not involving the security of the State.

The interesting thing about these developments is that the Sheikh who had resisted family pressure has bowed to it now in his weakened state of health.

When in 1973, G.M. Shah quarrelled with Beg, it was Shah who had to go. He was asked to resign as General Secretary of the Plebiscite Front, of which Beg was President and Sheikh, the Patron.

Two years later, when the Sheikh made up with the Centre, Shah had to make up with Beg before the Sheikh would have him even as a Minister of State. But with their coming to power and disbanding of Plebiscite Front, the struggle started for the control of the revived National Conferenee. Shah saw to it that Beg's men were kept out of Party Committees in Srinagar and Barmula. Beg retaliated by strengthening his hold on Anantnag.

Although the Sheikh has ensured succession within the family, it is a moral defeat for him. In 1953 he had fallen out with Bakshi and Sadiq. Later he fell out with Maulana Mausudi. And now he has fallen out

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with Beg, his last colleague of freedom struggle days, and the man who went into wilderness with him for 22 long years.

The Pakistan invaders hoped to be received with open arms by the civilian population, or as another newspaper put it: "Everything leads one to think that Pakistani infiltrations in the Valley were probably aimed at starting a revolt by throwing the suburbs of Srinagar into trouble. . ."

Several letters written in Urdu by Beg to Ghulam Ahmed to Badarwah in Jammu and seized by the Government have thrown a new light on the subject. The letters revealed Ghulam Ahmed as the link between Begon the one hand and officials in the Pakistan High Commission on the other. It was through Ahmed that instructions and substantial amounts of money passed. According to these letters, Abdullah and Beg were aware of Pakistan's intentions to launch a military attack on Jammu & Kashmir in 1965. Home Minister Chavan said in the Lok Sabha on 13th December 1969 that some people in the State had received money from Pakistan. After his release in 1968 Abdullah tried to justify Pakistan aggression in 1965. In one of his statements he said that "Pakistan would not have resorted to infiltration if the Indian Government had not closed all doors on negotiation."

On November 15, 1961 Mr. Mubarak Shah Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir Legal Defence Committee, Srinagar issued in a printed form the defence offered by Sheikh Abdullah against his alleged crime of treason for which Kashmir Conspiracy Case was started against Sheikh Abdulla and others. Mubarak Shah writes thus:

"Since the 9th August, 1953, *coup d'etat* of Kashmir, the result of preplanned conspiracy by which Sheikh Abdullah's government was thrown out, and his colleagues sacked, the campaign of vilification against him had coutinued unabated. The coup stagers had accused him of having 'conspired with USA aginst India and Pakistan in keeping the State separate from both with a view to converting it into a war base.' The propaganda had been carried widely and with vigour.

"During his detention from 9th August, 1953, to 8th January, 1958, he had time and again demanded to be given an opportunity to explain himself and answer the accusations hurled at his back. He was not allowed to participate in the Constituent Assembly whose architect he was called, even up to the time when that Assembly finalising its Constitution was adjourned, *sine die* in 1957. He had remonstrated to be heard but all was in vain. Almost for all this period of agony, he was kept in a special jail improvised in a jungle-corner near the Kud village.

"Suddenly on the evening of 8th January, 1958, he was released and asked to go out of the prison. He moved himself to the roadside, finding no arrangement to go to his home. A distance of 140 miles through snow-covered mountaineous road separated him from Srinagar. Before divulging the release order, the Police chief of the State volunteered to oblige him by offering that he would take him to Srinagar in his own vehicle. He

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declined the offer, resulting in his being stranded on the roadside. He tried in vain to be allowed to contact his friends through telephone or telegrams. "I have come from a smaller prison to a larger one," he exclaimed. Such was his first experience.

'He reached Srinagar late in the evening. The whole city had come out 'with tremendous enthusiasm and spontaneous jubilation to receive him back. It took him more than 6 hours to cover a few miles on which the population of the city had spread out. From the next morning string of people began to visit him at his home in Saura. In spite of police repression, thousands thronged to his home every day. There seemed to be no end to the number of people visiting him. Then he himself moved out.

"He went from place to place in Srinagar and addressed many meeting of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, 4½ years of total suppression had suffocated their soul. Squeezed in fear, deprived of the feeling of security and longing for deliverance from agony and misery, they looked up to him with hope. He was their hope, their looks showed. He consoled them, heartened them and told them "God, our Sustainer, is the Hope of all". They began shaking off fear, and regaining self-confidence and self-respect. After years they were seen holding their heads high. This aroused 'the authorities' wrath. They felt unnerved.

"Hardly six weeks after his release general arrests of his colleagues and workers throughout the Valley were made on the pretext of Hazratbal incident. It was sought to isolate and gag him. But he continued, single-handed, to approach the masses for creating the atmosphere of peace and climate of friendship. On 7th March 1958 just two months after his release, the Government clamped the whole Valley with imposition of Sec. 50 of Security Rules, banning all meetings and gatherings even in private house. On 11th April, 1958, he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of India, in which he explained:

"Since my release from detention Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his supporters are deliberately giving publicity to false and mischievous reports about my activities in order to cover up their past misdeeds. This is extremely sad. Under cover of this propaganda hundreds of Kashmiris belonging to various walks of life—lawyers, doctors, businessmen, ex-ministers of the State and ex-members of the Indian Parliament etc.—have been either detained without any charge-sheet or involved in fictitious cases criminal or otherwise. They are being given most shabby treatment in various lock-ups and provided with meals and other necessities of life hardly worth ten annas a day. They are not allowed to receive private bedding and are often refused eatables from their home people. In fact the treatment accorded to them is worst than a convicted criminal is receiving at the hands of the jail authorities. The police deliberately adopts delaying tactics in completing the chalans of the accused in order to cause maximum amount of mental and physical torture to them while they remain in their custody. Some of the most respectable persons

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have been taken to the interrogation centre of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, where they are being tortured in a way reminiscent of Nazi Concentration Camps in order to force them to give or sign false statements involving popular leaders in treason charges. With the promulgation of Rule 50 of the Defence Rules, prohibiting public meetings and processions, the whole Valley has become almost a graveyard. C.R.P., Peace Brigade, Militia and the Police have been spread in the city and in all the corners of the Valley and the Doda District to spread terror in the minds of the people. Daily arrests are being effected without any rhyme or reason on absolutely false and fictitious charges and the victims carried into various lock-ups and tortured. . .

"I am amazed at the recent utterances of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed at Hyderabad and Bombay, in which he has accused me of organising a force of Razakars and raising funds for the same in order to make all-out attack on the Government at a suitable time. This is yet another fantasy of the man who has betrayed not only the people of Kashmir but also his own benefactor to gain personal power and accumulate wealth for his family through corruption and other foul means. In 1953 he succeeded in misleading you and some of your other colleagues and the result was August tragedy. Then he charged me with having entered into a conspiracy with a foreign power to gain independence for the State. He threatened to publish my correspondence with you, the late Maulana Azad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, to substantiate his charge. He has not done so up till now. Having failed to prove this charge, he is again at his old game and along with his other co-conspirators, both here and in Delhi, is trying to create most vicious atmosphere in the country about me and my activities. I hope you will not be deceived twice by the man who is devoid of all moral principles and decency. . .

"In spite of all that has happened since August, 1953, I still believe that the key of the solution lies in your hands and I appeal to you not to be deceived by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his other supporters in pursuing a policy which, in the end, is bound to prove disastrous for all. . ."

It was in the last week of April that Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit came to Srinagar on a private visit. A meeting between her and Sheikh Saheb was arranged. But just one day before they could meet, the new drama was staged. On the midnight of 28th April, 1958, Sheikh found his house besieged by a large contingent of armed Police. He was arrested and whisked away again to Kud jail under the Preventive Detention Act. Thus fell the curtain on the drama of his release staged on 8th January 1958.

"One day the Police chief dropped in and an inmate of the jail asked him "why should he have been released at all if it had been intended to imprison him again?" He replied: "To find his overt act".

"But what did that mean? The meaning was clear when on 23rd October, 1958 i.e. 6 months after his rearrest, a contingent of Police force arrived at the jail with a non-bailable warrant issued against him by the

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Special Magistrate before whom the Police chief had complained and lodged a case called 'Kashmir Conspiracy Case' in May, 1958. Now Sheikh Abdullah was accused of having committed criminal conspiracy to overthrow the government by show and use of criminal force in order to annex the State with Pakistan.

"It will be recalled that in 1953 for the overthrow of his government and his detention justification was sought by campaigning that he had conspired with U.S.A. through its representive Adlai Stevenson. Therefore, on his release, 4½ years later, he had occasionally demanded that a thorough enquiry be made into such wild charges 'which have far-reaching consequences". In his speeches he had emphatically demanded and asked, 'the accusation must be enquired into and if they can prove any thing I am prepared to undergo any punishment. . .I will go from door to door in India and beg pardon.' Now the irony was that instead of such an inquiry he was to face the fresh one of having conspired to overthrow the Government and not of allegedly conspiring with America.

"During his short release Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah had delivered dozens of speeches. Out of these the Prosecution produced its own reports of 8 speeches as evidence of their charge against him.

"The complaint says that upon his dismissal and detention on 9th August, 1953, Sheikh Abdullah, his relatives and colleagues conspired to overthrow, by use and show of criminal force, the government of the State so that its territories be annexed by Pakistan. The centre of conspiratorial activities, the complaint says, was the Kud jail where Sheikh Abdullah dictated letters which, though passed by the jail censors and other censors at the time, are evidence of the conspiracy. According to the Prosecution, the scheme devised to achieve the purpose of the conspiracy was to create amongst the members of the public contempt and dissatisfaction towards the government of the State, to create communal ill-feelings and disharmony and disturbance of peace etc. For this purpose, it is alleged, 'a series of inflammatory speeches were delivered by Sheikh Abdullah and, in particular, one on February 21, 1958.'

"Paragraph 12 of the complaint is to the effect that the State authorities had come to know the existence of the conspiracy, its objects and means to achieve it, through FIR 100, lodged on October 9, 1957. In spite of numerous requests of the Defence to get this FIR produced before the court, it is still awaited.

"As evidence of their charge against him, the Prosecution has, in addition to the Police reports of 8 of Sheikh Saheb's speeches, exhibited copies of some letters alleged to have been dictated and sent from jail under censor.

"Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, former Revenue Minister and one of the accused in the Conspiracy Case, defending himself and Sheikh Saheb, argued at length on Sheikh Saheb's speeches and letters.

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The following quotations from Mirza Mahammed Afzal Beg's arguments saved Sheikh Abdullah from the crime of treason.

For the benefit of readers some of those arguments are given in the brief:

"People were bribed, but he says 'truth will succeed'. Can you penalise the speaker for saying that? Gandhiji has thousands of times said that truth will prevail, all the followere of Gandhiji today repeat it. Vinobaji says 'truth shall prevail'. But when Sheikh Saheb says the same thing, you accuse him of saying that he is personifying himself with truth. It is a motto hung in Government of India Assembly Hall that "Truth Shall Prevail". Now, can you say that Government of India is thereby personifying itself with truth and all others with falsehood? That would be a torture of words. But that is the crux of prosecution argument.

"Sheikh Saheb recollects friendly relations with India and intimately friendly relations with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He admits with gratitude the help that India and Panditji gave. But he says that the dispute about Kashmir was there.

"On the one hand India claimed it and on the other Pakistan claimed it. Finally the matter went to the Security Council and India repeatedly said that it is the people of Kashmir who alone can decide their future. Now, Sir to remind India of this promise, even to mention it, is advanced as evidence of treason against us! And thereby hangs a tale.

"Malicious propaganda against Sheikh Saheb was set afoot on August, 9, carried on vigorously through press and word of mouth, throughout the 4½ years he was in jail. In and outside India considerable maligning and character-assassination was taken recourse to.

"His first duty after release will be to explain to the people that he had not let them down, that the charges were false one by one, that he had not sold their honour and dignity and that he had not betrayed the movement of which he was symbol and for which hundreds had shed down their blood, hundreds had courted imprisonments and hundreds had suffered privations.

"As far as driving out outside troops is concerned, Government of India undertook that duty. May I say that they don't want now that Pakistan troops should go. There is a tremendous proof for that. The present Indian attitude is to let Pakistan have that part of the State and keep to themselves this part. India offered that as a price for plebiscite. You don't like Pakistan to leave. Otherwise India can get that part vacated, and our support will be there, provided India abides by her pledge of a free plebiscite. There is the rub. You don't want to hold the plebiscite, you do want to give ⅓rd of the State to Pakistan as a price to hush up the plebiscile demand. You now accuse Sheikh Saheb for not referring to withdrawal of troops. Government of India is suggesting to Pakistan to freeze the cease-fire line with minor adjustments here and there, and cast to winds the solemn pledge of plebiscite. But when I remind them to fulfill their obligation they accuse me that I don't press Pakistan to withdraw troops!

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My words will be meaningless. India which has armies, which has power, which gave us the promise, they are not keen about demilitarisation. It is a hard fact.

"Mr. Krishna Menon made a similar charge against Sheikh Saheb in the Security Council. The speaker asks (in the name of Gandhiji whose two legacies to India were truth and non-violence) "Does it befit you to say that I conspired with America?" He just makes an appeal to them asking "Does it behove you as followers of Gandhiji who left behind the legacy of faith in truth, to level an absolutely false charge against me?" How is it treosonable? The statement is unexceptionable.

"He (Sheikh Abdulla) fought against the two-nation theory so boldly, and at the time of crisis in 1947, he stood head and shoulders above communal bias. In that context Gandhiji had said that there was a ray of humanity shedding light from Himalayas.

"If Government of India had differences with Kerala Government, whom they charged for subverting the Constitution, what did they do? Not overthrow and arrest them.

"You moved the provisions of the Constitution there. But in Kashmir, you subverted the Constitution completely, and murdered democracy. He who had given his life for democracy has a right to ask this. Your honour will not call it treason.

"I repudiate the inference that the idea of arrest has obsessed Sheikh Saheb's mind. It is contradicted by the contents of the speech. He says both as Prime Minister of the State and President of the mighty organisation, National Conference, we fought for freedom and against communalism, when most of the minority communities were against us. We were facing Maharaja's bullets in those days and they were basking in the sun of Maharaja's favours. One of them has become a great leader now. Have we not a right to say that? Does he become a patriot and secular-minded because today he abuses Sheikh Saheb? He (Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad) is one who in 1946 led black-flag demonstration at Kohala and hooted down the would be Prime Minister of India.

"At that time why did we differ from the Muslim League outlook? Because Muslim League held that the rulers, and not the people, were the sovereign. Congress said, 'No' to this. It held that sovereignty rests in people.

"The instant case is because of this inference which is obsessing their mind that there is a clear exhortation to sever relations with India. Now that is the crux of the matter. We do not mind whoever judges us, we want to highlight this obsession in the prosecutor's mind that we will not vote for India in plebiscite.

"There is Political Conference which stands for vote for Pakistan. There are others who have published tremendous literature, like Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz that Kashmir's appropriate place is in Pakistan. You bring these allegations against us simply because about Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah you have your preconceived notions that he will not ask the

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people to vote for India. Therefore, you cook up this case of treason.

"If a public man of the stature of Sheikh Saheb says that the present uncertainty and insecurity is like the sword of Damocles hanging on the heads of the people, he is not advocating violence. He is advocating the cause of peace. . . .

"He is fighting a cold war, the man who is being prosecuted for high treason. . . .

"The old National Conference—that mighty organisation—is now no more. It has gone to bits. As I explained in my statement, this National Conference "CIA *ki lauddi bankar rah gai hai*". The speaker says : "*Woh ghonsla ham ne phir banana hai*". Can we not even talk about National Conference now? Can we not criticise it? Is that treason? That is the freedom we have got.

"After the disruption of the National Conference, we have got no regular organisation of 'razakars' or volunteers. As usual this word 'razakar' has been distorted by the prosecution. 'Razakars' mean nothing but volunteers. 'Raza' means 'free will' or voluntary, and 'kars' means an 'act', i.e. one who volunteers. Your honour will recollect that somewhat horrible interpretation was given to this word by the prosecution. "It is not an ordinary batch of people" they said. I repudiate all such insinuations.

"I challenge the prosecution to point out a single word in the whole speech, of excitement, hatred or to over-throw the Government by force. I challenge the prosecution to point out a single word which will provoke anybody. On the other hand I claim, without fear of contradiction, that the speech is based on enunciation and emphasis on (1) non-violence, (2) love, (spiritcal power and moral values, and (3) self-purification.

"I am commenting on this document as it is before me, with all the assumptions made by the prosecution. How did on 9th August Bakshi Ghulam Mohd, become Prime Miniter? Not through legal ways. The speaker might be commenting on that. On that day Constitution was scrapped, no reference to the Legistive Assembly was made for vote of confidence. That procedure is the cornorstone of a democratic Constitution. All means other than constitutional are illegal.

"I might give offence to an individual. It is for the individual to complain, and not for a political party to take the cover of the State, and start a case of treason. Law should not be used to wreak personal vengeance.

"There is nothing of treason, nothing of riot, nothing of lawlessness in these utterances. "*Yahi nahin Kashmir ke chaleesh lakh mard, aurten our Hindustan ke 35 lakh admion se main muafi mangoonga*". Now, nobody can talk with a greater depth of conviction than he does about his peaceful intention. He is ready to go and apologise before crores of Indians—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs; and men, women and children of Kashmir if he has been guilty of betrayal and of letting down the people. But it is not tolerated that the people should know the truth.

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"Hard fact is that our State is divided and hard fact is that there are United Nations Observers in the State. Those who do not take note of these realities are living in fools' paradise.

"Only the other day, nearly 200 cases against the Democratic National Conference workers were withdrawn from the courts, as soon as they agreed to support the Government and reiterate that Kashmir's accession was irrevocable. But in our case, even evidence is fabricated and our statements and speeches are distorted.

"The contents of these letters have copiously quoted from late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's work *Shaheed*-e-*Azam*—the Great Martyr Hazrat Imam Hussain, grand-son of the Prophet of Islam. The late Maulana has written a monumental work on the great martyr, and Sheikh Saheb has profusely quoted from it and other works of Maulana.

"My final comment is that these letters are full of teaching of human values and that they establish our defence that we believe, as Sheikh Saheb has always done, in communal brotherhood and harmony, in having settlement of political issues by peaceful and democratic methods and that these letters are an irrefutable negation of the allegations brought by prosecution.

"I would draw your attention to ExP. 117. It talks of poultry which which we kept in jail. I share that hobby with Sheikh Saheb. It is a letter dated 31-12-57. So, there are '*ande*', *murghi* '*murghi ke neeche ande*' etc. Everything tallies with what I said in my letter ExP. 117 which is challenged by the prosecution. Some eggs have come off and he has five chicks. Sir, I hold the whole prosecution case is full of obsession and mental trouble. There is nothing in these eggs, but the obsession is there. Prosecution saw bombs in eggs, gun-cotton slabs in eggs, beeby-traps in eggs.

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5 *Riddance From Jaundice*

For the main purpose of establishing Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah poisoned the wells of national ideology in India. Two dominions instead of one were established. Murder, rape, arson and genocide were the first fruits of India's freedom.

The rulers of Hyderabad, who had for years, drunk deeply the ideology of two nation theory, threatened us with consequences worse than the holocaust of 1947, If Union was to interfere with what they refer to as the 'sovereignty' of the State of Hyderabad. What they really wanted was the right to do as they pleased. Since the advent of Independence, more than five hundred Rulers made way for the rule of their people. Not so the Nizam. With less legal pretensions than many others of his Order, he alone clang to the past; and he scanned the horizon for allies—Churchill and the British Conservative Party, Pakistan and Syria, Razakars and Indian Fifth Columnists. To what extent was the Nizam's claim to sovereignty well founded? In whom did it vest? In the Nizam? In his people? Or in Abdul Kasim Razvi? Was the sovereignty claimed by the Nizam anything more than a fiction? Was His Highness anything other than Mir Osman Ali Khan, pretender to the 'throne' of Hyderabad? To assess the value of the demands of Osman Ali, we must begin our researches with Asaf Jah Kamruddin, nor hesitate to recall the achievements of the illustrious ancestors of His Highness.

Lord Mountbatten, in his address to the Chamber of Princes in July 1947, used loose expressions of the 'complete freedom' and 'legal and technical' 'independence' of the States after the Act of Independence. The Nizam could therefore be excused when he claimed for himself the exaggerated status of an independent sovereign, forgetting that the Independence Act not only abrogated the Paramountcy but also all treaties and matters and rights based on agreements, sanads and usage.

India had declared that no state would be coerced into accession. The Nizam time out of number declared that he would never accept accession. In India, accession and responsible government were two *sine qua nons* of a settlement with the Nizam. Weeks of the most patient negotiation failed to produce a solution.

The Leader of the Razakars, Abdul Kasim Razvi promised to run up the Nizam's flag on the Red Fort at Delhi if the Indian Dominion was

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so stupid as to wage war upon the Nizam. To most people the only likelihood of Razvi's threat maturing was if the Indian Government was stupid enough to believe him.

The foundations of Hyderabad were laid in treason and duplicity. In 1683, Aurangzeb marched into the Deccan to crush the rising power of the Marathas and to reduce to submission the other Kingdoms of Southern India. In 1686, he conquered Bijapur, in the following year Golconda, the whole of the Karnatak and Telingana. In 1703 the Emperor appointed Kamaruddin Asaf Jah as his Nizam and Subedar of the Deccan. The death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 signalled the weakening of Moghal Power in India. Kamaruddin endeavoured to shake off the control of the Delhi Court, though he never actively ventured to declare himself the independent ruler. According to all canons of law, Kamaruddin's conduct was nevertheless an act of treason, for which in more ordered times he might well have paid with his head.

Neither neighbours, nor foreign powers, recognised Kamaruddin Asaf Jah as an independent ruler. Kamaruddin's act acquired no international recognition or status, as for a century and more the Nizams continued to pay obeisance—normal perhaps—to the Emperors of Delhi. Kamaruddin himself died in 1748. Gaziuddin Khan, eldest son of Kamaruddin, was in Delhi, so Nasir Jung, his younger brother, seized the Nizamate on the death of his father. The British, lent ready aid to Nasir Jung, whose claim to the Nizamate was disputed by members of his own family. Absentee Gaziuddin's claims were advanced by Muzzaffar Jang, a nephew, through a sister, with French aid. The British saw in the establishment of Nasir Jung the means of securing British influence in the Deccan.

In 1751 Gaziuddin with Maratha aid disputed the accession and endeavoured to secure the Subedarship. Nasir Jung was murdered. Now Gaziuddin became Nizam. He did not survive long. He too was murdered. To secure his position Muzzaffar Jang applied to the French for help. Nothing could be more pleasing to Dupleix than this. Since it gave him an opportunity of furthering his great project of founding a French Empire in India. The united armies of Dupleix, Muzzaffar and Chanda Sahib marched into Karnatak, defeated Nawab Anwar-ud-din at Ambur, and left him dead on the field. They then advanced to Arcot, and Chanda Sahib was proclaimed Nawab of the Karnatak. Mohammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din, fled away. Jinji was taken by the intrepid and victorious Bussy. Nasir Jung was shot by his own followers. Chanda Sahib and Muzzaffar Jang proceeded to Pondicherry where they were received with the wildest joy. Muzzaffar Jang was installed Viceroy of the Deccan with the greatest pomp; Dupleix was appointed Governor of India from the Kistna to Cape Commorin.

Muzzaffar Jang did not enjoy his high position long. On his return to the Deccan his troops mutinied and he was killed. Bussy, appointed Salabat Jang as his successor. He was the younger son of Muzzaffar Jang who

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had become Nizam-ul-Mulk under the French aegis. Dupleix's policy had been completely successful.

In 1759 Salabat Jang abandoned his French proclivities and concluded a treaty with the British whereby he ceded an area of about 700 square miles including the sea fort of Masulipatam and undertook to exclude the French from his dominions. According to the Treaty of the 14th May 1759/16th Ramzan 1172 AH therefore:

"The whole of the Sircars of Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the Sircar of Nizampatam, and the districts of Condavir and Wacal-manner, shall be given to the English Company as an *enam* (or free gift), and the Sanads granted to them in the same manner as was done to the French.

"The Nawab Salabat Jang will oblige the French troops which are in his country to pass the river Ganges within fifteen days; or send them to Pondicherry, or to any other place out of the Deccan country, on the other side of the river Kistna; in future he will not suffer them to have a settlement in this country, on any account whatsoever, nor keep them in his service, nor assist them, nor call them to his assistance."

The legal value of Salabat Jang's act of cession by gift being dubious approval of the acquisition of the Northern Circars was sought by the East India Company from the Emperor of Delhi. On the 14th August 1765 when the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was also obtained by the English Company, Salabat Jang's 'gift' of the Sircars were also confirmed.

Salabat Jang suffered the fate of his predecessors. He was deposed by his younger brother Nizam Ali, imprisoned and eventually murdered in prison. Nizam Ali assumed the lofty titles of Nawab Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizamud Dawla, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur.

When the French and Haider Ali of Mysore threatened British Power, Nizam Ali's pledges proved little better than his conscience. Much as Kamaruddin Asaf Jah turned his back upon his benefactors at Delhi, his grandson treacherously deserted the British alliance. The Nizam invaded the Karnatak in conjunction with Haider Ali of Mysore with whom the British were on hostile terms. This shows that Asaf Jah was a traitor.

In 1767 Haider Ali was intriguing with the French against the English, and consequently the latter entered into an agreement with the Marathas and Nizam Ali to attack Mysore. If the plan of this 'Triple Alliance' had been carried out, Mysore would have been attacked at once from all sides. Haider Ali, however, knew the enemies he had to deal with; he quickly bought off the Marathas; and Nizam Ali was soon induced to turn his arms against the very force that had been sent from Madras to his aid. The British Commander Colonel Smith retreated, when, Haider attacked him. Smith continued his retreat until he arrived at Trinomalai. Haider followed and besieged the town. At the same time Tipu, son of Haider Ali, with five thousand horses carried fire and sword to the gates of Fort St. George. The English army of Trinomalai was soon reduced to extremities. Smith,

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by an able movement of his troops, gained a victory which forced Haider to retreat to the hill country.

The Nizam had hoped to march to Madras and recover the Karnatak. He now began to fear, he might lose what he already possessed. So, he deserted his new ally Haider Ali as readily as he had deserted the English a few weeks earlier, and made peace with the English, confirming to them the grant of the Northern Sircars made two years previously.

The Treaty of 1768 was a tripartite treaty between the East India Company, the Nizam and the Nawab of the Karnatak.

According to the article 9 of the Treaty, the Nizam declared Haider a rebel and usurper, as if he and his family were made of a better stuff.

Nazim Ali's record of perfidity was not complete. He again broke faith with the British.

When war declared between England and France in 1778, it was determined to drive the French from all their possessions in India. Chandernagore, Masulipatam, Karikal and Pondicherry surrendered without resistance, and there remained to the French only the small station of Mahe on the Malabar coast.

On 4th July 1790, the Nizam joined the British in an offence alliance against Tipu Sultan. The Peshwa was the third party to the alliance. Under the terms of the treaty the three parties agreed to enter the war.

On the termination of the first war against Tipu considerable territories were divided between the British and the Nizam. Territories yielding an income of Rs. 13,16,000 were made over to the Nizam as his share of the conquest although he had taken no conspicuous part in the campaign.

The Marathas revived a claim against the Nizam for arrears of *chauth* and theatened war if it were not satisfied. The Nizam applied to the British Government for aid, but Sir John Shore as Governor-General considered himself precluded by the treaties with the Marathas.

The Marathas would be certain to crush the Nizam and their power would become a great danger to the English. Sir John, however, remained neutral. The result of the war was the total defeat of the Nizam at Kharda and a great extension of Maratha power.

The war which had broken out in 1795 terminated in the convention of Kurdla, by which the Nizam was compelled to cede to the Marathas territories yielding a revenue of thirty-five lakhs of rupees; to pay three crores of rupees; and to give his minister, Azam-ul-Umara, as a hostage for the fulfilment of these terms. Three-fourths of the territory ceded by the Nizam was afterwards recovered during the dissension which followed the death of Madho Rao Peshwa.

It was clear, however, that the Nizam could not maintain the integrity or independence of his domains without British support. At first he was a deputy of the Mughals, now a puppet of the British.

The state of Hyderahad had been founded on treason and treason alone. Therefore the Nizam had no right to declare his soverignty and he had no business to accede to Pakistan.

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The state of affairs under the Nizam of Hyderabad towards the end of the eighteenth century was contemptible in the words of Warren Hastings, Governor-General. According to Hastings:

"The Nawabs of Oudh and the Karnatak, nominally servants of the Emperor, are entirely dependant on the Company. Another nominal officer of the Emperor, the Nizam of Hyderabad, is a star destined to become a satellite but now the object of contention between rival heavenly bodies.

"His dominions are of small extent and scanty revenue; his military strength is represented to be most contemptible; nor was he at any period of his life distinguished for personal courage or the spirit of enterprise. On the country, it seems to have been his constant and ruling maxim to foment the incentives of war among his neighbours, to profit by their weakness and embarrassments, but to avoid being a party to himself in any of their contests, and to submit even to humiliating sacrifices rather than subject himself to the chances of war."

On the death of Madhav Rao, the court at Poona became a complete network of political intrigues, but in December 1796 Haji Rao was at last seated on the *masnad.* In 1800 Nana Farnavis died, and with him departed 'all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government'. Baji Rao was completely under the control of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Jaswant Rao, had succeeded Tukaji Holkar. He united to his fortunes Amir Khan, an Afghan adventurer, invaded Malwa and plundered Ujjain. Sindhia retaliated by advancing against Indore.

At Bassein, Baji Rao entered into a treaty with the English. Now a subsidiary force was to be permanently stationed in the Peshwa's territory, and districts yielding twenty-six lakhs of rupees were to be assigned by the Peshwa for its maintenance; who gave up his claims to Surat, and submitted the adjustment of his claims on the Nizam and the Gaekwar to English arbitration; the Peshwa bound himself to be the faithful ally of the English. The English, on the other hand, promised to protect him and his kingdom.

At the close of the second Maratha War, the Nizam received—by the partition Treaty of 28th April 1804—the Deccan territories conquered from Sindhia and Nagpur.

This Treaty was the first to recognise the so-called 'Sovereignty' of the 'Subedar of the Deccan' and to refer to him as 'His Highness'.

The Nizam received considerable accession to his domains by the Treaty of the 12th December 1822 as a reward for his assistance in the Pindari and Maratha Wars of 1817. In particular the Nizam received by transfer the following districts belonging to the Peshwa:

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Oomurtehair Julgaun Wyezapoor Seorage Untoor Seornige 22 Villages of Talook Rahisbone Seornije. Dhabny Seorage Detached Villages Shewlee Peer Hirppoor Talokah Ghal Nandoor Sundry Villages	Total Rs. a. 5,69,275 8

and the following districts belonging to the Raja of Nagpur:

Akoal Argaum Wumais Bhatooly Kulkall	Rs. a. p. 3,25,000 8 0

It was not until 1853 that another Treaty was concluded with the Nizam, and Berar was ceded on Terms to the Company. In view of the present controversy over Berar, it is well to know the reasons.

The reason for the Treaty of 1853 was stated in the preamble to be:

"Whereas in the lapse of time many changes in the condition of Princes and neighbouring State have taken place by reason of which it has now become expedient to revise the military arrangements that were formerly agreed upon for the fulfilment of the said Treaties; and whereas differences and discussions have for some time existed between the contracting parties regarding the adjustment of charges connected with portions of the military arrangements subsisting between the States; and whereas it is fit and proper, and for the mutual advantage of both powers, that such differences should now be finally settled, and that the recurrence of such discussions, which tend to disturb the friendship and harmony of the contracting parties, should effectually be prevented."

Nizam Nair-ud-Daula died in 1858 and was succeeded, with the approval of the British, by his son Afzal-ud-Daula.

On 1st November 1858 the Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria was publicly read at all the principal stations in India, and was translated into all the vernacular languages. It proclaimed the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown.

Afzal-ud-Daula. died on the 26th Febrnary 1869. This period had been notable for considerable extension of British influence in Hyderabad. The so-called internal sovereignty of the state was at the best at all times only nominal.

Owing to a disagreement the Nizam resolved in 1861 to remove his minister Salar Jang from office, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Resident. But the British Government refused to countenance the measure

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and Salar Jang was maintained in office. Differences again arose between the Nizam and his minister in 1867, but were eventually arranged, and Salar Jang continued to hold the office.

The *Nizam* Afzal-ud-Daula was succeeded by his only son, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, then not three years of age, who was placed on the *masnad* by the British Resident, and the joint administration of affairs during the young Nizam's minority was entrusted to Sir Salar Jung and Nawab Shams-ul-Umara.

On the 5th February 1884 Mir Mahbub Ali Khan come of age, and was invested with full powers of administration by the Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. With the concurrence of the Government of India, he appointed Salar Jang II to be Minister.

Sir Salar Jang died on the 8th February 1883. During the year that had still to elapse before Mir Mahbub Ali Khan came of age, the administration was entrusted to the Peshkar, Maharaja Narindar Parshad, and Mir Laik Ali, the elder son of Sir Salar Jang, who were entitled respectively Senior and Junior Administrators.

Salar Jang II resigned in April 1887, and in July the Nizam, with the concurrence of the Government of India, appointed Nawab Bashir-ud-Daula as Minister. During the interval between April and July 1887 the business of the State was conducted by the Nizam himself with the help of Colonel C.H.T. Marshall.

Mir Mahbub Ali Khan died on the 29th August 1911 and was succeeded by his eldest son Mir Usman Ali Khan, born on the 6th April 1886. Mir Mahbub Ali Khan left two other sons by different mothers, *viz.*, Mir Ahmad Mohi-ud-din Ali Khan (Salabat Jah) and Mir Muhammad Mohid-ud-din Ali Khan (Basalat Jah), both born in 1907.

In 1912, the Nizam, along with other Princes went to Delhi, knelt before the King George V and swore allegiance.

In the first World War, the Nizam's Government contributed Rs. 1,53,00,000 towards the maintenance on active service from September 1914, to December 1918.

On the 1st January 1918 the Nizam was granted the special title of His Exalted Highness as a hereditary distinction; and, in a letter dated the 24th January 1918, the King-Emperor was pleased to confirm to him formally the honourable title of 'Faithful Ally' of the British Government.

From the foregoing narrative of history, it is seen that the title of 'Faithful Ally' was scarcely deserved. In two centuries of chequered history, the Asaf Jahs had established a unique record in duplicity, usurpation and betrayal. Whenever they betrayed they betrayed most faithfully.

Before the two Dominions of India and Pakistan were born, India comprised an area of over 1,808,000 square miles with a population of about 390 millions—nearly one-sixth of the human raee.

But of this total a very large part was not under the direct administration of the Government of India. The total area covered by the Indian

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States was about 715,994 square miles, with a population of over 93 millions. State territories constituted 45% of the total Indian territories.

Geographically the States were scattered over every portion of the map of India. In the north-east we had Cooch-Behar enclosed within the territories of the Bengal Province. Manipur State was surrounded by the territories of Assam. Southwards lay the Chhattisgrah and Orissa States. Futher south figured the States of Hyderabad and Mysore. Facing the Indian Ocean further southwards still were States of Cochin and Travancore. To the north-west lay the extremely numerous assemblage of States and Eatates included in the Western India States Agency, of which the better known were Kutch, Nawanagar, Bhavanagar and Junagadh. To the north-east of Bombay, lay the main mass of Central India States which included Gwalior, Indore and Rewa. The nothern and north-western portion of Bombay was divided from the Punjab by the wide strip of Rajputana States namely Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur. In the United Provinces were to be found the isolated States of Tehri-Garhwal, Rampur and Benares. To the north-west were the Punjab States including Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Kapurthala; and a number of smallar States. Futher west appeared the States of Bahawalpur. The State of Khairpur lay in the geographical orbit of Sind. In the north there was the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

According to the information circulated by the Chamber of Princes in 1946, over 60 States had set up some form of legislative bodies. In several others, scheme for associating people with the governance of their States were under consideration.

If the Hyderabad State was the most important from the standpoint of size and revenue the Mysore State had the enviable reputation of being the best administered of the Indian States.

The Rajputana Agency consisted of several Sub-Agencies and watched the interest of the Paramount Power in twenty-one States. There was the Lawa State with only 19 square miles of territory and a population of only 2,000 persons.

In the Central India Agency, Indore was the most important State.

Bhopal ranked next in importance to Hyderabad among the Mohammedan States of India. The ruler grnduated in arts. His State was unfortunately for him, like that of the Nizam, geographically in India. His heart was in Pakistan. He wanted to betray us but could not.

The Government of India was represented directly to the most important States. Those less important were represented through various Agencies. The Agencies kept their hands off the workings of the internal machinery. In matters in which the Paramount Power was interested, the 'whisper of the Residency was the thunder of the State'.

Of all the States the most important from the viewpoint of size, population and revenue were the Nizam's 'Dominions'. The revenues of the Hyderabad State for many years were double that of any other State and equivalent to about 16½ crores in Government of India currency. The State

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could boast of a size equal to Italy or France and had a population of about 16 millions. The State had several generations of able administrators.

Since 1911, the Ruler of Hyderabad was titled (to give him all his titles) his exalted highness* Rustam-i-Dauran, Arshatu Lt. General Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, W-Al-Malik-Zaman, Khan Mir Sir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, fateh jung, sipahsalar, faithful Ally of the British Government Nizam-ud-Daula, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asaf Jah G.C.S.I.G.B.E., Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Mir Osman Ali Khan was born in 1886, and succeededed his Father Mahabat Ali Khan in 1911. As his eldest son he was recognised by the British as the future Nizam.

In 1906, Osman Ali married Dulhan Pasha, his first official wife. The heir apparent, Azam Jah (Mir Himat Ali Khan) was born on 21st February 1907 and Muazzam Jah (Shujaat Ali Khan) was born on 21st December 1907. The Nizam had numberless sons and daughters by several of his wives and concubines. His harem was one of the largest in history. When he ascended the throne, he sold his father's women for thirty rupees a piece When Osman Ali Khan was tired of a woman, he passed her on to one of his nobles for valuable consideration, two, three or even a hundred gold pieces, according to her worth in his eyes. What a great betrayal was towards his queens whom he treated as quadrupeds.

By selling his wives, by insisting on large Nazaranas from his officials on the slightest pretext and from all interview seekers by misappropriating property, jewellery, and monies of rich minors in Court of Ward; by passing on court expenses of the State Exchequer and saving his own cash appropriations, and the revenue from vast private estates, Mir Osman Ali amassed for himself a colossal fortune. For years he was known as the world's richest man. His riches had been variously computed to be in the neighbourhood of 600 to 1000 crores.

Mir Osman Ali Khan was a man of frugal habits in diet and dress but had abounding ambition. For years he saw in his wealth the means of securing the leadership of the Islamic world

In the fall of the Caliphate, Osman Ali saw an opportunity for advancing his claims to leadership of the world of Islam.

But Osman Ali Khan was never altogether without hope. He married Azam Jah, has eldest son, to Durre-Shavar, only daughter of Ex-Caliph Abdul Majid II of Turkey, Muazzam Jah married Nilophar, a cousin of Durre-Shavar. Turks, Arabs tired of the Caliphate had relegated it to oblivion. To the Nizam it meant a status. The Nizam therefore set out to buy it. If he could not be the Caliph, perhaps his grandson could with the royal blood of Turkey in his veins. But the British did not encourage

*Most of the above titles were self-conferred, such as "Rustam-i-Dauran" or "Rustam (strong man) of the Time," "Arshatu-i-Zaman ("Socrates of the Age"); "Muzaffar-ul-Mulk" (Conqueror of the Country), "Wal Malik" ("and of the Kingdom)". None of these titles had any reference to the actual achievement of His Exalted-Pighness.

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the idea.

By the 1936 Berar Agreement, the sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar was re-affirmed.

The State (apart from Berar) was divided into two divisions, Telingana and Marathwara, seventeen districts and 153 taluqas. Local boards were constituted in each district and taluqa. The State maintained its own currency which consisted of gold and silver coins and a large note issue. The rupee, known as the Osmania *Sicca,* exchanged with the British Indian ruppee at an average ratio of 116-10-8 to 100. There was a State postal service and stamps for internal purposes.

Apart from the personal fortunes of the Nizam the Hyderabad State as such was by far the wealthiest of the Indian States, having a revenue in its own currency of about 16½ crores, which was approixmately double that of the Central Provinces and Berar, and more than double that of any other of the larger States.

Osmania University, which was established at Hyderabad by a Charter in 1918, marked a new departure in Indian education as it imparted instruction in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Law, Muslim Theology, Medicine, Engineering and Education through the Medium of Urdu.

In Hyderabad Cotton was grown extensively on block cotton soil. The total area under cotton cultivation was about 2 million acres in 1944-45. Hyderabad is well-known for it Gaorani Cotton.

Hyderabad possessed the most Southerly of the Indian Coalmines and much of the South-India was dependent on them for such coal as is transported by rail. These mines produced 1,277,154 tons in 1942, but the output was reduced to 1,067,459 tons in 1943.

Textiles, Cement, Paper and Sugar were the chief industries of the State. There were large Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills and 385 Ginning and Pressing factories. About one half of the cloth consumed in the State was manufactured locally on handlooms. Besides the State Shahabad Cement Works produced 1,72,628 tons of cement in 1943. The Nizam Sugar Factory had a cane crushing capacity of about 1,500 tons. Attached to this was a distillery for manufacturing alcohol out of molasses. There were four cigarette factories with a large export trade.

During the War several large-scale industries sprung up in the State. and the number of factories registered under the Hyderabad Factories Act was 668.

The State of Hyderabad has been in the unique position of having within its limits the largest net work of railways in any Indian State.

The Nizam was most interested in air development, no doubt with an eye to the future. The Rulers of Hyderabad for the most part were drawing their inspiration from Aligarh and Osmania. The Nizam was the Chancellor of these two universities. A narrow communalism poisoned the social and political life of the State, for which the Nizam and his Court were largely responsible.

The Army and the police and high officials in Hyderabad were mainly

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Muslim giving just ground for complaint to the vast majority of the Hindu population.

For many years, the Nizam endeavoured, to import able administrators from India to organise and develop the revenue department of the State. Syed Sir Ali Iman, a former member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, held office for many years as Prime Minister. Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Mirza Ismail were other important names who were associated with Hyderabad. But gradually the power passed from the Nizam and residency to the Ittehad-Musalmeen, (Hyderahad's All India Muslim League). On the appointment of Sir Mirza Ismail, Jinnah made a dash to Hyderabad to prevent his appointment, as Ismail was not one of his men. Ismail was no believer in Jinnah's policy of communalism.

Hyderabad in 1947, on the eve of important changes in the constitutional set-up of the sub-continent, was a hotbed of intrigues and political conspiracies.

Mr. Jinnah was succesful with the Nizam who turned out Sir Mirza Ismail. Actually speaking the Nizam had been won over by Jinnah with the promise that if Hyderabad acceded to Pakistan, the Nizam would be world's greatest Ismlamic force.

His Exalted Highness Osman Ali Khan, had made fullest preparations to become one of the biggest traitors of India.

Sub-section (1) of Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1925, defined 'Indian States' as including any territory, whether described as a State, an Estate, a Jagir or otherwise belonging to or under the suzerainty of a Ruler who is under the suzerainty of His Majesty and not being a part of British India! In political practice the term applied to a political community occupying a territory in India of defined boundaries and subject to a common Ruler who enjoyed or exercised, as belonging to him, any of the functions and attributes of internal sovereignty duly recognized by the Paramount Power.

The Butler Committee and the Simon Commission applied this elastic term to 562 units, where as the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms referred to 600 units as States. The term covered at one end of the scale units like Hyderabad and Kashmir, which were of the size of the United Kingdom, and at the other end minute holdings in Kathiawar extending only to a few acres.

In post-partition India, the area covered by the States geographically contiguous to India was reduced to 5,87,888 square miles, being about 48 per cent. of the total area of the Dominion of India, *viz.*, 12,20,099 square miles. The Kashmir State with a territory of 84,471 square miles and the Hyderabad State closely following it with a territory of 82,313 square miles constituted the largest territorial units amongst the States. There were 15 States which had territories of more than 10,000 square miles and 67 having territories ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 square miles. There were 202 States having each an area of less than 10 square miles.

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On 19th February, 1946, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic-Lawrence, announced his Government's decision to send a delegation of three Cabinet Ministers to India.

Lord Pethic-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A.V. Alexander, arrived in India on 23rd March, 1946. In earlier announcements the States had been assured that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown without their consent. It was, however, expected that the consent of the Princes to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not be unreasonably withheld.

On May 12, 1946, the Cabinet Mission issued a Press Release in regard to the States, Treaties, and Paramountcy:

"Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any changes in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent. It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld. The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature. His Majesty's Government have now declared that if the succession Government or Governments in British India desire independence no obstacle would be placed in their way. The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of independence within or without the British Commonwealth. The Delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish.

"During the interim period, which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new Constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully self-Governing, paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

"When a new fully self-Governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf on the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountey. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the

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States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them."

His Majesty's Government's Statement of 3rd June 1947, which superseded the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16th May 1946, contained the following reference to the States:

"His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to the British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May, 1946, remains unchanged."

On the day the States Department came into being, *i.e.*. 5th July, 1947, the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, Member for States Department, issued an important statement defining the policy of the Government of India, in which he assured the States that no more was asked of them than accession on the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, in which the common interests of the country were involved.

The Statement made by the Hon'ble Member for the States Department was favourably received by the Indian Princes. Informal consultations which followed paved the ground for the negotiations leading up to the execution of the Instruments of Accession.

While Lord Mountbatten and Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel were doing everything possible to rescue the unity of what remained as India, Mr. Jinnah, the intriguer, saw in the new problem of the States fertile ground for mischief, in which Zafar Ullah Khan, Federal Court Judge, was adept. After having successfully brought about the resignation of the Khizar Ministry to have the way of a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab, Zafar Ullah Khan, with Jinnah's approval became Constitutional Adviser to the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, resigning his seat on the Federal Court.

It was Zafar Ullah Khan's job to see that Muslim States within the Dominion of India should either remain independent or accede to Pakistan, thus creating centres of Pakistan influence within the Dominion of India itself. With this end in view, M.A. Jinnah gave his opinion on the legal position of the Indian States. Dawn June 18, 1947 wrote thus:

"Constitutionally and legaily Indian States will be independent Sovereign States on the termination of Paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it is open to them to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or Pakistan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent. In the last case they can enter such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

"I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12, defining the policy of H.M.G. towards Indian States, does not in any way limit them as it is often wrongly repeated that they have no option to join one or the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion, they are free to remain independent, if they so desire. Neither the British

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Government nor British Parliament nor any other power or body can compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord; nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so."

Jinnah tried his best to queer the pitch as much as possible. On July 25, Lord Mountbatten held a meeting of the Princes and explained to them in forceful terms the necessity of accession to the Dominion of India. And while the Sub-Committee was examining the Draft of Instrument of Accession and Draft Standstill Agreements, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement throgh the Associated Press of India. *Dawn* July 31, 1857 displayed it thus.

"I have been asked from certain quarters to indicate what the attitude of the new Pakistan Government is likely to be in respect of Indian States after the lapse of Paramountcy. I thought that I had already made the position perfectly clear. The legal position, with the lapse of Paramountcy on the transfer of Power by the British in all Indian States, would be that they would automatically regain their full sovereign and Independent status. They are, therefore, free to join either of the two Dominions or remain independent.

"The Muslim League recognises the right of each State to choose its destiny. It has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action. If a State desires to join the Pakistan Domminion or enter into any understanding or treaty, the Negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, when set up, or representatives of the Government of Pakistan, as the case may be, will be glad to negotiate terms on which such associations can be brought about. While, it is desirable to conclude such negotiations quickly, no definite time limit can obviously be placed on their completion as this will, in my opinion, amount to interference with the State's freedom of choice.

"Meanwhile, there is already a provision for a Standstill Agreement to fill up any void that may arise in the administrative field. This Standstill Agreement would take care of the immediate problem that may result from the lapse of Poramountcy."

Jinnah was sure that if this view prevailed with the Princes—it would certainly be acceptable to them. He could defenitely count on the accession to Pakistan of Bhopal, Junagadh, Sachin, Janjira, Tripura, and several others among the States and make an alliance with Hyderabad, Travancore and some others which were inclined to bear strongly towards the theory of Sovereign Independence of the States.

On July 25, 1947, a Conference of Rulers and representatives of Indian States was held in the Chamber of Princes under the presidency of Lord Mountbatten in his capacity as Crown Representative. Addressing the Conference the Viceroy said:—

"The States have complete freedom—technically and legally they are independent. Presently I will discuss the degree of independence which we ourselves feel is best in the interest of your own States. But there has grown up during the period of British administration, owing to the fact

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that the Crown Representative and the Viceory are one and the same person, a system of co-ordinated administration on all matters of common concern which meant that the sub-continent of India acted as an economic entity. That link is now to be broken. If nothing can be put in its place, only chaos can result, and that chaos, I submit, will hurt the States first—the bigger the State the less the hurt and the longer it will take to feel it—but even the biggest of the States will feel itself hurt just the same as any small State.

"Let us turn for one moment to the Cabinet Mission plan of 16th May, 1946. In this Plan the proposal was that the States should surrender to the Central Government on three subjects—Defence, External Affairs, and Communications. That was a plan which, to the best of my belief, every Ruler and every State accepted as reasonable, fair and just. I talked with so many Rulers and everyone felt that Defence was a matter that a State could not conduct for itself. I am not talking of internal security but of defence against external aggression. I submit, therefore, that if you do not link up with one or the other Dominions, you will be cut off from any source of supplies of up-to-date arms or weapons.

"External Affairs is inextricably linked up with Defence. External Affairs is something again which is outside the boundaries of India in which not even the greatet State can operate effectively. You can hardly want to go to the expense of having Ambasadors or Ministers or Consuls in all these foreign countries; surely you want to be able to use those of India and Pakistan. Once more I suggest the External Affairs is something that you have not dealt with since the formation of the East India Company. It would be difficult to operate and will also be source of embarrassment for you to have to take it up and it can only be managed by those who manage the Defence of the country. I submit that if you take it up, it will be a liability and not an asset.

"The third subject is Communications. Communications is really a means of maintaining the life-blood of the whole subcontinent. I imagine everybody agrees that the country has got to go on. The continuity of Communications is already provided for to a certain extent in the Indian Independence Act; and most of the representatives here have come to discuss it as item 2 on the agenda.

"Therefore, I am sure you will agree that these three subjects have got to be handled for you, for your convenience and advantage by a large organization.

"The whole country is passing through a critical period. I am not asking any State to make any intolerable sacrifice of either its internal autonomy or independence. My scheme leaves you with all the practical independence that you can possibly use and makes you free of all those subjects which you cannot possibly manage on your own. You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

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The Nawab of Bhopal asked His Excellency what would happen if a State did not accede to either Dominion.

His Excellency picked up a paper weight and brought it down with a thud on the pad before him.

"God help it," he said.

Some of the leading Princes enabled the Rulers of States to appreciate that it was both in the interest of their States and the country that the States should become actively associated with the Dominion Government. With their valuable assistance and co-operation negotiations were concluded in a week's time and, barring Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh, all the States in the geograpnical limits of India acceeded to the Indian Dominion.

The white Paper on the Indian States (1948) refers to this momentous achievement in the following words:

"The accession of the States to the Dominion of India was a momentous event in India's history. The full significance of this important development can be appreciated only if it is viewed aganist its most unpropitious background. For over half a century, the States had been a sealed book so far as the leaders of public opinion in British India were concerned. High walls of political isolation had been reared up and buttressed to prevent the infiltration of the urge for freedom and democracy into the Indian states. Disruptive tendencies had been sedulously cultivated and encouraged and proposals for not only one but several Rajasthans were in the air. There were not a few who nursed the hope that, overwhelmed by the combined weight of the partition of India and the disruption of the States, the Government of India would go under.

"In the context of these heavy odds and handicaps, the consummation of the idea of a federal India, comprising both the Provinces and the States, was not a mean achievement. For the first time, after hundreds of years, India became welded into a constitutional entity."

It is interesting to add that Bhopal and all other Indian States, excepting Hyderabad and Junagadh acceded to the Indian Dominion. Bhopal's Constitutional Adviser betook himself to Pakistan. Junagadh's subjects made it too hot for him. He too went to Pakistan. Junagadh by plebiscite joined the Union.

Meanwhile Jinnah completely forgot the opinion he held about the freedom of a State to accede to either Dominion. Kashmir signed a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan, but that did not satisfy Jinnah who wanted full accession, if not merger with Pakistan. Then so putting his own legal opinion into the waste paper basket he waged war—first unofficially then openly, against Kashmir and India.

Hyderabad, however, was too large and too strongly placed to be coerced. Its Ruler and its other ruling elements were not inspired by patriotism. Realizing that he was soon to be free of the paramountcy of the English, Mir Osman Ali Khan entrenched himself behind a wall of Arab muskets.

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On December 14, 1947, came the first of the great mergers. The Orissa and Chhatisgarh States numbering 39 in all with an area of 56,000 square miles and a revenue of two crores and a population of seven millions merged in the Dominion by ceding full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction, and powers for and in relation to the government of these States.

The merger of the Eastern States gave an impetus to the people of other States with limited resources to seek a similar remedy for their difficulties. They signed merger agreements on 19th February, 1948, and subsequent dates. The other States signed similar agreements and all States in Deccan were administratively integrated with the province of Bombay. The seventeen Deccan States that were merged in Bombay covered an area of 7,651 square miles with a population of about 17 lakhs and a revenue of about rupees one crore and forty lakhs.

After prolonged discussions in Bombay on 17th March, 1948 the Rulers of the jurisdictional Gujarat States agreed that merger with the Bombay province was the only solution of their constitutional problem.

A number of Rulers and the Chiefs of the East Punjab Hill States signed on 8th March, 1948, agreements ceding to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and power for and in relation to the governance of their States. Other Rulers signed similar agreements on subsequnt dates. "Himachal Pradesh" comprises the territories of 21 Hill States with an area of 10,600 square miles, a populotion of about 9½ lakhs and a revenue of about 85 lakhs. It came into being on 15th of April, 1948.

The scheme for the constitution of the new Kathiawar State to be known as 'Saurashtra' was finalized in the last week of January, 1948. Saurashtra comprised 217 states.

The United State of Kathiawar provided the model for similar Unions of States in other regions, namely, the United States of (*a*) Matsya, (*b*) Vindhya Pradesh, (*c*) Rajasthan, and (*d*) Gwalior, Indore and Malwa, and (*e*) the Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

The United States of Gwalior, Indore, and Malwa (Madhya Bharat) constituted the largest of the Unions of States so far formed. It comprised 20 States in Central India including the major States of Gwalior and Indore.

The latest Union of States that had deen decided upon was one to be formed by the States in the East Punjab. The Covenant for the formation of this Union was signed by the Rulers of the six salute States (Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Malerkotla) and the two non-salute States of Nalagarh and Kalsia on 5th May, 1948.

The state of Nalagarh lay beyond the present Ropar District of Punjab Kalsia was near Chandigarh.

In the short space of one year the impossible had become an established fact. The age of miracles had truly not come to an end. The greatest political miracle of merging the Indian states in the union of India was preformed by our Iron-man, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel.

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The Nizam was not keen on arriving at any agreement with the Indian Government. For, side by side with peace parleys, he also started making preparations for a showdown. Arms and ammunition started pouring into Hyderabad; thousands of Arabs and Pathans entered the State and were enlisted in the State Army; and a virtual state of war was declared throughout the State. The Satyagraha movement launched by the State Congress demanded accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union. A large number of Congress workers were put behind the bars.

To give a decisive blow to the democratic front, the Nizam mobilised the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen under the leadership of Syed Kasim Razvi. The Razakars, were equipped with the latest weapons and given full military training. They had the fullest backing of the Nizam.

A reign of terror was let loose in Hyderabad aided and abetted by the administration. The Razakars began to indulge in murder, loot and arson in an ever-increasing degree.

After three months of protracted negotiations, a Standstill Agreement was concluded between the Nizam and the Indian Union on November 29, 1947. Stating that it had not yet been possible to reach final agreement regarding the permanent relationship between India and Hyderabad. The Standstill Agreement, valid for one year, ran as follows:

"Agreement made this 29th day of November, 1947, between the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Whereas it is the aim and policy of the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to work together in close association and amity for the mutual benefit of both, but a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached.

And whereas it is to the advantage of both parties and existing agreements and administrative arrangements in matters of common concern should, pending such final agreement, as aforesaid, be continued.

Now, therefore, it is hereby agreed as follows.

Article 1—Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern including External Affairs, Defence, and communications which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before August 15, 1947, shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam.

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion:

(*i*) to send trops to assist the Nizam in the mainetnance of internal order;

(*ii*) to station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from the Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostlities.

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Article 2.—The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purpose of this agreement to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

Article 3.—(*i*) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any paramountcy relationship.

(*ii*) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

Article 4.—Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators.

Article 5.—This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year.

In confirmation whereof the Governor-General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.

Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar. Mountbatten of Burma, Governor General of India."

Letters were also exchanged between Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India and the Nizam on several points covered by the Standstill Agreement.

The Governor-General noted that the Nizam had" no intention of acceding to Pakistan."

Ample concessions were thus made to the Nizam—the agreement being wide of the standard Standstill Agreements executed with other States.

It was clear that the Nizam's profession of a peaceful solution of outstanding problems had been accepted as otherwise India would not have agreed to withdraw her troops from Hyderabad.

The Nizam got a year to make up his mind and to ascertain which way the tide of fortune flowed in Kashmir. The Government of India got a respite from the necessity of opening a second front with Hyderabad, having in the meantime their hands full with Pakistan in the valley of Kashmir.

The Nizam's Government really required a breathing space and the Standstill Agreement gave it. It had no intention whatever of honouring the agreement, and within a week of its conclusion a loan of Rs. 20 crores was offered to Pakistan and shortly afterwards an ordinance as promulgated depriving the Indian Currency of its legal tender in Hyderabad. These overt acts were taken almost simultaneously with a number of covert developments within the State, the most important among the latter being the raising of the strength of the Razakars from quarter of a

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milion—to half a milion men under arms. This was the greatest betrayal from Nizam's side.

The Government of India, however, honoured the obligations under the agreement to its detriment even though it was clear that the Nizam had no intention of honouring his. Next to Linnah Osman Ali, the Nizam of Hyderabad was also a traitor.

And when the last batch of Indian troops left Secunderabad in January, the Nizam's squads of Razakars were nowhere to be seen in Hyderabad. The socalled 'fire-eaters', were none but 'mire-eaters'.

On November 20, 1947, India and the Nizam signed the Standstill Agreement already referred to. This was described by Mr. K. M. Munshi, India's Agent General in a mood of exuberant, but irrespossible optimism, as "an experimental marriage". "If"—added Mr. Munshi, "within a year a child is born, the marriage will continue. I am in Hyderabad as midwife and being a Brahmin my self, I am confident that a happy and bonny child will be born within that time." In his book "Hyderabad or India", K.D. Gauba writes thus:

"But Hyderabad was in no mood to have any midwives from the Indian Union even though they belonged to the exalted Brahmin order. The first welcome India's Agent General received was a refusal by the Nizam Government to provide him with residential quarters. Frantic telegrams from Lord Mountbatten to the Nizam produced a permission to reside for a week only within the Residency. The midwife went to Hyderabad but returned to Bombay without suckling a babe. Indeed no one took much notice of the midwife at all.

"Hindus bypassed Mr. Munshi out of fear of the administration. Muslims left him severely alone. The Ittehad had a profound contempt for Dhotis and Mr. Munshi wore his elegant Dhotis around the "Char-Minar' as he wore them on Chaupatti beach.

"Our Agent-General, therefore, found Hyderabad a lonely spot and relieved his boredom by frequent visits to Bombay and Bangalore."

"Meanwhile a baby had been born in Hyderabad, a vicious, lusty infant. It was certainly not out of Indian wedlock even though merely experimental.

"Mr. Munshi did everything possible to smooth out difficulties for the Nizam. He used all the influence in his power to suppress the agitation of the Hyderabad State Congress. Till then the Congress under the leadership of Swami Rama Nand Tirath had been uncompromising enemies of the Nizam's administration. Several of its leaders had been arrested and jailed. Under Munshi's advice the Congress degenerated into a critic of the Nizam's critics and "began to attack the more militant section of the Hyderabad peoples." And so according to a well-informed correspondent the original democratic demands of the Hyderabad Congress began to be watered down. Talk about "the need for reforms," about "gradual" constitutional progress and "evil of violent action" started to creep into every political speech. Attempts were made to isolate those who demand-

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ed joint action with all parties, including the Andhra Mahasabha which was leading the Telingana peasantry. Until finally, State Congress workers were told in emphatic terms not to co-operate with what were called 'subversive elements.' The 'midwife' was beginning to make his influence felt; the ruled were now starting to speak in the jargon of the rulers."

According to the author of *Storm over Hyderabad:*

"When the full meaning of Telingana and its slogan of 'Land to the tiller' became known, there began to develop the most remarkable realignment of forces that India had seen during recent years. There was a hurrying to and fro between the capitals of India, Pakistan, Hyderabad, and Britain. Urgent talks were arranged between the representatives of the Nizam and the Premiers of Madaras, Bombay and the Central Provinces, between the Nizam and the Indian Government, between the Nizam and his British advisors.

"Forgotten were the crimes prepetrated by the Nizam and those loyal to him. Forgotten were the hateful jabberings of Razvi and his Razakars. Forgotten were the kisans of Telingana and the other people of Hyderabad. Forgotten were those who had liberated their villages from centuries old serfdom. An emergency and an idea had united the enemies of yesterday.

"Telingana was a flame that threatened to destory vested interests and, therefore, must be muffled. That is the position today and the hour for the familiar 'settlement' has arrived. The slogans of 'Land to the tillers' and 'No Compromise' have unmasked the enemies of the people. Telingana has struck at the root of the economic problem of the Indian Continent and, therefore, it is dangerous. It must be isolated, if not killed.

"But Telingana has come to stay."

Thanks to the Standstill Agreement, all opposition to the Nizam within and without the State soon came to a standstill. India, true to its word, withdrew its troops from Secunderabad.

We have seen how the first indication of the manner in which the Nizam was going to honour the Standstill Agreement came within a few days of the signing of the pact. Twenty crores went to Pakistan from the Nizam Treasury to bolster the finances of a Dominion at war (though unofficially) with the Indian Union. The Nizam was consummating alliances. He wanted to run India with Pakistan's help.

Razvi and other leaders of the *Ittehad* declared:

"We are born fighters and protectors of the weak. We will be guided by the great tenets of the Quran. Now, my brothers, onward march. Never put back your sword in the sheath until your object is achieved. Hound out the enemy. Do not spare him. Mind not your troubles. We believe in God. We have no other friends except ,*Allah* who has created this Islamic State and who will never let us down. With the *Quran* in one

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hand and a sword in the other, let us march forward, cut our enemies to pieces, establish our superiority.

"It would have been far better if the Indian Dominion had not goaded the tiger, that was lying, to needless fury. Who knows that the Hyderabad tiger, the Bengal tiger of Eastern Pakistan and the Kashmir tiger, roused from their lairs, might not greet one another at Delhi."

The Government of India could not view these declarations with equanimity, and as early as the last week of April Pandit Nehru expressed the determination of his Government to solve the Hyderabad problem without delay, by war if necessary.

The Nizam, however, was in no mood to check the menace of the Razakars, whose basic creed was the maintenance of the Nizam's sovereignty. His agents, on the other hand, made a successful effort to secure support from British quarters, and Mr. Butler made a mischievous attempt to introduce the question of Hyderabad into a House of Commons debate on foreign affairs. Emboldened by this, the Nizam turned down an invitation from Lord Mountbatten to come to Delhi for a personal discussion with him.

The rejection of this invitation was almost immediately followed by an attack on the Bombay-Madaras Mail while passing through Hyderabad territory. This incident brought matters to a head, and the Hyderabad Premier flew to Delhi for final consultations. This was the beginning of a long series of parleys, which ultimately resulted in a break-down.

Before Lord Mountbatten handed over charge, he made one final attempt to induce the Nizam to accept the terms. His plea fell on deaf ears.

Mr. I. S. Jehu, a British Editor of great repute, writing in the *Times of India* on the failure of the negotiations said:

"The worst has been confirmed. Hyderabad has in fact rejected terms which are, in any reasonable and practical assessment of the circumstances, conspicuously generous. Let us be thankful that India's Prime Minister, faced by more than ordinary provocation, has refused to yield to human impatience and has said, flatly and realistically, that the Government of India's last word has been offered. There is nothing more to be said. The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam have obviously exhausted the patience not only of the Indian Union, but of anxious well-wisher like Earl Mountbatten, of their own adviser, Sir Walter Monckton, and even, to all appearances, of their own Prime Minister. Relations between the State and the Indian Union have come to a complete standstill, which means that an economic blockade becomes complete. Undoubtedly, India will suffer, but even in her current travail her difficulties will be of little consequence compared to the effects on Hyderabad. The Nizam's Government are embarking on a course which can take them no where, and have failed to take advantage of a moment when distinguished persons, palpably anxious to help them, are on the spot. An opportunity is being missed which will not recur; and if those in despotic power in Hyderabad fondly

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imagine that external help may be forthcoming, they are doomed to disastrous disillusion. Even should the worst happen—which nothing yet suggests—to the solidarity of the Indian Union nothing can save Hyderabad, save contemporary commonsense, from complete liquidation."

At a Press Conference, following the failure of the talks the Prime Minister indicated that Government would pursue an 'open door policy,' in as much as the proposals which they had forwarded to the Nizam had not been withdrawn and it was open to the Nizam to accept them at any time he chooses. At the same time, Pandit Nehru declared, Government would not wait for anybody.

At the final breakdown of the negotiations of June 22, Pandit Nehru declared his Government's determination not to re-open negotiations though he said that it had been left open for the Nizam to ratify the agreement. But the Nizam did not show any inclination to do so and did not go beyond his offer of parity between 15 per cent. (Muslims) and 85 per cent. (Hindus) of his population. It was then that, at a speech at Patiala on July 15, Sardar Patel said that the draft formula evolved by Lord Mountbatten and Sir Walter Monckton and approved by the States Ministry and Hyderabad delegation, but subsequently turned down by the Nizam, did no longer hold the field. 'Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of settlements with other states'. This categorical statement was later reaffirmed by Pandit Nehru at Madras.

India clamped down an economic blockade on recalcitrant Hyderabad. As it was being reported that gun-running was being carried on a large scale into the State, the first step of the India Government was to deny arms and ammunition. Then they suspended aerial communications with a view mainly to prevent military supplies from being flown to Hyderabad. These were followed by economic and financial measures—*i.e.* ban on the transfer of securities held by or on behalf of the Nizam, prohibition of export of gold, jewellery and currency notes to Hyderabad and suspension of agency arrangements by the Imperial Bank—which were calculated to keep Hyderabad from using its resources against India.

The impression left by the repeated failure of the negotiations on independent observers and even well-wishers of the Nizam was clearly adverse to Hyderabad regime. Sir Mirza Ismail, who had come to Delhi with the approval, if not at the express instance of the Nizam ascribed his failure to the undemocratic forces at work in Hyderabad and the inability of the Nizam to act without reference to these forces.

On August 13, a demand for the immediate disbandment of the Razakar organisation and the dissolution of the present Government in Hyderabad was made by seven prominent Muslims of Hyderabad in a joint statement.

The statement, which was published in a local Urdu nationalist daily, urged the immediate setting up of an interim government enjoying the confidence of all communities in the State and immediate accession to the

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Indian Union in respect of the three subjects of external affairs, defence and communications.

The signatories to the statement included Nawab Manzoor Jung Bahadur, Mr. S. M. Hussain Jaffer, former Director of Public Instructions, Hyderabad, Mr. Ahmed Mirza, retired Chief Engineer, Nizam's Government, and Mr. Farid Mirza, *Tehsildar* of Khandar in Nanded district, who was reported to have resigned.

The statement said that the Hyderabad public has been misled to believe that the word accession meant slavery and subordination, whereas accession was only in respect of the three federal subjects on the basis of equality. Moreover, Hyderabad, by signing the standstill agreement, has already committed herself to accession. There was now no question of paramountcy.

A great part of Muslim intelligentsia in the State also believed that Hyderabad must act in co-operation with India even after the establishment of Pakistan.

The statement also said that the present Hyderabad Government had aggravated the existing illfeeling in the country and by its intransigence over the Razakar problem, despite the clamour of the Hindu community, had fully exposed its communal bias by failing to institute an enquiry into the alleged Razakar atrocities. Besides, the Government had been unsuccessful in maintaining peace and order in the country and in establishing friendly relations with India. The present unhappy relations with the Indian Union had not only led to severe economic suffering of the people in the State but had retarded reconstruction work.

The only reply that the Hyderabad Government gave to the statement was to dismiss some of the signatories from the State service, stop the pensions of others and clap all the signatories into prison under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules.

The disgust of the Indian Muslims at the activities of the Razakar clique in Hyderabad affairs was expressed by the demand for the deposition of the Nizam by the Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad, former President of the United Provinces Muslim League and closest associate of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The Maharajkumar said, "The Nizam may choose to go to U. N., to heaven, or to hell, but the Government of India should not remain mute spectators of the atrocities in the State. The defenceless population of Hyderabad, if not saved in time, may have strong grounds to make the Government of India answerable before the world bar. Without loosing time any more it is now the duty of the Government of India to depose the Nizam immediately and to establish responsible government in the State."

The Indian States during the British Rule of India were shown in yellow colour on the Map of India. It looked as if they were our jaundiced eyes. The political doctor Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel cured India's jaundice.

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As mentioned elsewhere, Lord Mountbatten sent a friendly invitation to the Nizam to come to Delhi. The only reply he got was an impertinent counter invitation to Hyderabad.

But the Nizam after having signed Delhi to a Standstill went ahead with his plans to form alliances and import arms from foreign countries. This was the climax of his betrayal.

He had friends in Pakistan. Jinnah had been his lawyer and advisor before he became too great to accept a fee; then Monckton came on the scene. Ghulam Mohammad, Finance Minister of Pakistan had been the Finance Member of Hyderabad before Jinnah picked him up for appointment. The Nizam knew Jinnah would need money for Pakistan and Jinnah knew where he could get it. Both the Nizam and Jinnah were inspired by the same ideology of expansion at the expense of their common neighbour. Both were prepared to pool brains, resources and, if necessary, arms.

A strong Pakistan was a guarantee to the Nizam; an independent Hyderabad was indispensable to Pakistan.

It has long been evident that Hyderabad derived its courage, perhaps, less from the filibuster of Razvi than from certain sinister forces gathering to a head outside the frontiers of India.

It was in 1963 that India was able to turn out the Portugese Rulers from Goa, Daman and Deo.

The following is the Draft '*Firman*' that was to have been issued by the Nizam in the State, following the signing of the agreement between India and Hyderabad:

1. "After protracted discussion between my Government and the Government of India, I am now in a position to announce the lines of my policy. I am most anxious to put an end to the uncertainties which prevail as to the nature of the relationship between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India. The views of the Dominion of India have been made clear to me, and mine are well known to them. I have now decided to consult the will of my people upon the question whether Hyderabad should accede to India. I shall, therefore, take a plebiscite in Hyderabad on the basis of adult franchise. In order to ensure that the plebiscite is fairly conducted, I shall arrange for it to be held under the supervision of some impartial and independent body. I shall accept the result of the plebiscite, what ever it may be.

2. "But I am satisfied that more is required than the holding of a plebiscite, in order to restore confidence and tranquillity. I have, therefore, decided to instruct my Government to proceed in accordance with the following principles. In doing so, they will appreciate that the re-establishment of goodwill between India and Hyderabad is the object of my policy and is of greater importance than the terms of any agreement which may be reached between India and Hyderabad in accordance with these principles:

(*i*) "It is my intention to introduce responsible Government in

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Hyderabad, and to that end, to establish a Constituent Assembly early in 1949.

(*ii*) "In the meantime, there should be a reconstitution of my Government, as the result of which a new interim Government will be formed, in consultation with the leaders of the major political parties.

(*iii*) "My Government have been able to reach agreement with the Government of India on the nature of the interim relationship between Hyderabad and India pending the holding of the plebiscite. This agreement, which involves some modifications of the existing Standstill Agreement, has been embodied in a separate document signed by my Prime Minister".

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6 *Piety Betrayed*

The Sevapuri Sammelan registered a landmark in the growth and development of the *Bhoodan Yajna* movement. Now Bhoodan Message began to be conveyed to every nook and corner of the country. Vinoba who had covered 35 districts of U.P., now started for the remaining 15.

Leaving Sevapuri on April 20, 1952, Vinoba halted at Bhadohi in Varanasi district. Four days later he came to Faizabad district, where lies Ayodhya, the birth-place of Rama. At Akbarpur, a sub-divisional town and the biggest Khadi-production center of the *Gandhi Ashram*, Vinoba issued on April 28, 1952, an appeal to the nation. He observed thus:—

"I had been trying to find some field for experiments with non-violence since Gandhiji's death. I took part in the work of rehabilitating Meo Muslims with the very idea. It was a good experience. It encouraged me to go to Telangana. I saw there the vision of *Ahimsa* (Non-Violence) in the form of Bhoodan Yajna.

"In the course of two months which I took to reach Delhi, I received some eighteen thousand acres of land. I then realized that the masses were eager to welcome non-violence.

"At the request of friends of *Sarvodaya* in U.P., I ventured on this experiment of *Bhoomidan Yajna* in the larger field of U.P. We decided to collect, at the rate of five acres for a family, five lakh acres of land. . . . We have received more than one lakh acres by now. I see in this nothing but the hand of God. He wills and welcomes this activity. Some of my companions also feel like that. The result is that the workers who met in the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sevapuri have resolved to collect at least 25 lakh acres of land within the next two years.

"I am aware that the problem of India's landless labourers cannot be solved by merely distributing 25 lakh acres among them. It will require at least five crore acres to solve this problem. But if we can collect 25 lakhs as a first step, and thereby convey the message of non-violence to India's five lakh villages, I believe, it will create a favourable atmosphere for equitable distribution of land."

He concluded his appeal with the following words:

"Fellow countrymen, I appeal to you all to contribute your share in the *Praja-sooya Yajna* and by making this mission successful, establish

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non-violence as the rule of society in the economic sphere. I make a claim of the correctness of this work for three reasons. It is in tune with the cultural traditions of India. It contains in it the seed of economic and social revolution. And lastly, it can help in the establishment of peace in the world.

"I know, I have no right to give a programme to the nation. I am not a leader to give a call to the nation. I am an humble devotee of God who regards the service of the poor as the way of the attainment of the highest goal of life. If Gandhji were alive today, I would never appear before the public as I do today, but would have concentrated all my attention on scavenging village streets and on conducting my experiment of *Kanchan mukti* (elimination of money economy) through agriculture. Circumstances have compelled me to come out and be audacious enough to be an initiator of this great *Yajna*. But whether it is impertinence or humility I dedicate it to God and request all my sisters and brothers to co-operate with me.

On May 1, 1952 Vinoba was at Faizabad. It was the world labourers' day, Vinoba dealt with the importance and dignity of labour. In his post prayer address he remarked thus:—

The work that I have taken up is labourers' work. This is a movement of the weakest, the landless and the mute. Labour movements are generally carried on in cities though we do find some peasant movements in Europe. But in India such movements are largely confined to cities. Our peasant labourers have no organisation at all. There is no awakening among them. They get no education. Except cultivation they know no other occupation. But the field they cultivate are not their own. These labourers are at the lowest rung of the ladder and are regarded as the humblest of all classes. It is their cause that I have taken up.

"My movement is a labour movement. I am a labourer myself. I have passed 32 years of my life, verily the best years of my youth, as a labourer. I have performed several such callings which—though regarded very low and degraded by the society as below dignity—are highly necessary and important, *e.g.*, scavenging, weaving, carpentry, farming etc. My work can solve the land problem, increase food production, ensure justice, organise villages, produce good effect on official machinery, develop the religious feeling of the people and give a sound shape to the tendencies of kindness and generosity as also to their undeveloped and latent moral content."

Eight days later Vinoba reached Lucknow. It happened to be the *Buddha Jayanti* day (birth anniversary of Lord Buddha). In the post-prayer address he spoke thus:—

"The life and teachings of Buddha have begun to attract the attention of the world afresh in our days. The lesson which he taught was ignored in his own age and even till our own days. But his teaching has not died. It had laid like a seed covered by earth and awaiting the season for germination. After 2,500 years, we see it sprout today.

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"From the time of Buddha upto the appearance of Gandhi, hundreds of saints have borne personal witness and demonstrated the truth of the teaching that anger is conquered by calmness, fear by fearlessness, and enmity by love. But they had remained till now as examples confined to individuals. They were like laboratory experiments. The wider application of these principles to society and its problem had not taken place.

"In the meantime physical science developed by leaps and bound. It enabled its votaries to overrun various countries of the world. The British conquered India, and performed the unprecedented feat of disarming the entire nation. If arms alone could help a people to bring about its liberation, the slavery of India for all time was inevitable. Thus it became imperative to forge a weapon which could break the bonds of slavery inspite of the lack of arms. India then applied on the social scale the individual experience of saints, and brought about her liberation. It is the first miracle of non-violence."

Vinoba continued :

"We have to decide which are the proper means to follow for solving the several problems with which we are faced. If we take to evil means for achieving good ends, there can be no end to our problems. On the other hand if we take to non-violent means, all problems will be resolved in due course and be no more, not only in India, but in the world. This is why I want to resolve the land problem peacefully. It is no small problem. I ask people to give the land they have. I do not beg it though as a *Brahmin* I am privileged to do so. I would have begged, had I been asking for it for myself. When, however, I ask for it as a representative of the poor, I do not beg ; but I claim to teach the people their duty of divesting themselves of their extra riches. And I have come to believe that God is using me, weak though I am, to complete the task which He had commenced through Buddha."

In a firm voice he declared thus:—

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*—revolving the wheel of *Dharma*, which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest : *The land has already come to me ; it has already gone to the landless. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer.*"

He pointed out most vehemently:—

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it ; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Ram : 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor; so awake, Oh Ram!'

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"While all over the world outside nations are busy slandering one another and grabbing whatever they can, here in India begins the dawn of a new and happier age, the age of giving, and the indwelling Lord is waking up. Hence I am sure that if we keep patience and continue to work with faith and courage, this idea and the truth it embodies will certainly go forth from here and encompass the world. But for that we will have to emulate the zeal and faith and the spirit of sacrifice of the great disciples of Buddha, We should apply ourselves to this fresh revolution of the wheel of *Dharma* with the same devotion. And if we are able to do so, we will impart a new and a better shape to the world."

Vinoba reached Kanpur on May 13th 1952. On the way from Unnao to Kanpur city he dropped for a few minutes at Sri Manzar Ali Sokhta's *Sevakunj Ashram*. Kanpur offered Vinoba a right royal reception. It was the first place where Vinoba obtained the full quota of a district on the very first day. The District Bhoodan Committee of Kanpur presented *Danpatras* of about 13,000 acres of land. Vinoba then raised the Kanpur quota to one lakh acres and so also he did in other U.P. districts which fell on his way later.

Pleased at the quantity of land offered to him by Kanpur people, Vinoba told them that that was not enough. He also called upon them to provide 2,000 pairs of bullocks for the sake of 2,000 families who would be getting that land.

The last halt in Kanpur district was at Pukhrayan where on May 17, 1952, Vinoba distributed land to the landless—first event of its kind in U.P.

The sixth annual session of the Sarvodaya Samaj was held at Sarvodayapuri, within a stone's throw of the world-renowned religious abode called Bodh-Gaya, on April 18, 19 and 20, 1954. The Sammelan was presided over by Shrimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam, the distinguished educationist and exponent of Gandhiji's *Nai Talim*. It was attended by more than five thousand persons coming from different parts of the country. It met on the grounds of a luxurious mango grove, in extraordinarily simple, elegant and rural surroundings. Except for a waist-high dais there was nothing spectacular and but for the microphone everything was home-made.

The Sammelan commenced in the afternoon of 18th April, with an all-religions' prayer. In a few words, Sri Gauri Shankar Saran Singh, convener of the Reception Committee, offered the gathering a hearty welcome. The Secretary of Sarvodaya Samaj, Sri Shankarrao Deo, requested Smt. Asha Devi to take up the task of conducting the deliberations. Touching Vinoba's feet and taking his blessings, she expressed her acceptance of the same. Next came Sri Vallabhswami, the Joint-secretary of Sarvodaya Samaj, who gave a brief review of the work done during the past one year and expressed the hope that the Sammelan would contribute to make us all stronger and purer. As he was closing, there arrived Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, accompanied by the Bihar Governor and the Chief

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Minister. Sri Vallabhswami garlanded the two distinguished guests with hand-spun yarn. Then the president requested Vinoba to address the conference.

Vinoba began with a Vedic prayer: 'We may grow, one in mind, one in heart, one in purpose.' Referring to the present situation of the country, he expressed his horror at the aggravation, on account of elections, of casteism and communalism—the twin evils which have been the constant targets of attack of all our patriots and reformers from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Gandhi. He enquired whether crisis was a pre-requisite for fostering united and harmonious action and whether the prevalent multitude of differences in the country were not enough to warrant the same. He refused to believe that if gentlmen sat together they would not be able to chalk out a common programme. Next, tracing the origin of Bhoodan Yajna, Vinoba observed that it might not succeed in solving all the issues before us but it definitely possessed the strength to bring hearts together. Vinoba then turned on to the basic necessity of introducing spinning in the country. Just as in England everybody knows swimming and boating, spinning should be universal in India. Vinoba reiterated with emphasis his demand for imparting spinning instruction to every citizen. Concluding, he said that though we had secured the objective of collecting 25 lakhs of acres within two years, we were but nothings. With his characterstic humility, he appealed to Pandit Nehru to show them the way.

Coming to Bhoodan, Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that it offered a revolutionery method of solving the land problem. But he was afraid that if the Government intervened therein, its form and character would be altered. He expressed his accedance of the principle of spinning. But there too we had to fit in with the new world of technology. Dilating upon the international situation, Pandit Nehru affirmed that we of India could rely not on armed might but on our inner strength alone.

The philosopher—statesman of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan spoke next. He observed that the Bhoodan movement would not only bring about an agrarian revolution in the country but also lead to the dissolution of caste barriers. Quoting Aristotle, he said that one must live before one can live well. Sound physique—beauty, radiance and invulnerability —was an essential requisite. As regards untouchability, he said that its practice was but doing violence to the dignity of man, which was a great sin. No religion permitted it. With lucid quotations from the scriptures of various religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam—he pointed out that *Dharma* was that which brings society together, while *Adharma* breaks it as under. Social coherence was the need of the hour. Finally, Dr. Radhakrishnan hoped that land legislation and abolition of caste prejudice would lead to the betterment of society.

Then they all shifted to the prayer ground where more than a lakh of people had already assembled. In his post-prayer address, Vinoba declared that anybody who did not donate land was a traitor to the country. There should be as many donors in Bihar as there are landholders. He said that

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he had spent 19 months in Bihar and called upon its people to respond to his call of 32 lakhs. Then Pandit Nehru rose to address the gathering. He severely denounced casteism and remarked that Bihar, of all States, suffered from this curse most and its heat reached even Delhi. What was needed was greater integration of hearts, otherwise forces like those of Hydrogen-bomb could not be successfully met. Pandit Nehru entreated the people to rise above mutual differences and build a new India.

Jaiprakash Babu expressed his regret at the sad fact that Bihar had not yet fulfilled Vinoba's demand. He felt certain that Bihar could do it. But neither the members of the Congress Party nor those of the Praja Socialist Party, both of which had passed resolutions supporting Baba's call for 32 lakhs of acres, had taken up the work with proper zeal and spirit. He added that personally his faith in the efficacy of the movement was growing day by day. Law could not unite hearts. Nor could any Party pass a law making land a social property. Of course, that could be done by the sword, but sword gave rise to more problems than it solved. Sri Jaiaprakash pleaded for speedy action as urgency was essential and time waited for none. He said that the paramount need was to dedicate one's whole life to this cause and he called upon his countrymen, specially the youth, to come forward and donate their life to it, *Jiwan Dan* (or gift of life). He closed with the solemn announcement of offering himself for the cause.

In a slow, moving tone Vinoba warmly appreciated Sri Jaiprakash's resolve. He was sure that as the Bhoodan movement succeeded it would also be able to transform the life of many persons. He regretted that constructive workers had not yet cast off their mutual ill-will and suspicions. Could they work with a broad vision and large heart, added Vinoba, as the members of one family called the Gandhi family, they would not only find new workers joining them but would also ennoble their own life. He urged upon them to work with as firm a resolve as that of Jaiprakash Babu.

These two speeches turned the tone of the Sammelan and gave it an awful solemness. The very air of Sarvodayapuri was changed. The evening prayer meeting was addressed by Acharya J. B. Kripalani. He said that Gandhiji's Constructive Programme must be taken as a whole. Like a vigil, he gave the warning that Bhoodan alone was not enough and a mere collection of five crore acres of land and their distribution would not serve the purpose. The whole standing structure had to be taken into account and revolutionized. Hence, argued the Acharya, politics could not be overlooked. Either they would have to go into it or control it. He also expressed his pleasure at Sri Jaiprakash's decision to dedicate himself to Bhoodan cause—a decision which tempted him also. But much heart-searching and purity, Kripalani ji pointed out, were required for such dedication. Our ambitions, rivalries, etc. must all go before we took such a bold step.

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On the third day, the 20th, came the climax. After morning spinning, the president, Smt. Asha Devi announced that Sri Jaiprakashji had sent her lwo letters—one his and the other from Vinoba. She read them out. Sri Jaiprakash's letter said:

"I enclose a letter received from Baba. I have no words to comment on the donation of life to a small fry like me by a man who has inspired us all. I shall say only this that I am totally unfit for accepting such an invaluable donation. On the contrary we have to donate our life in the name of God to Baba himself. Yours in humbleness, Jaiprakash."

Vinoba's letter to JP was as follows:

"In response to your call of yesterday here is the offering of my life for a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yajna and with village-industries as its mainstay.—Vinoba."

The whole audience was spell-bound. In pin-drop silence, Smt. Asha Devi Aryanayakam, the president, offered her entire self for the great cause. Then came Sri Dhirendra Majumdar who said that with some diffidence he also offered himself for the same. The diffidence was that donation did not mean a mere speeding up of the land collection programme but a discarding up of old values in every sphere of life. It meant a dedication to new human values and giving oneself up to the building up of a casteless and classless and stateless society. Calling upon the workers to realise its deeper implications, he hoped that a good number of them would offer themselves. Then Smt. Asha Devi requested Sri Jaiprakashji to read out the various letters of dedication. This took up the whole morning.

In the afternoon session, the last sitting of the Sammelan, the conveners of various sections gave a brief resume of the discussions held the previous morning. Then came the main resolution—the only resolution—of the Sammelan, read out by Sri Shankarrao Deo. Expressing joy at the collection of 26,15,101 acres from 2,37,022 donors within two years, the resolution affirmed that the underlying idea was not to collect or distribute land but to build up an exploitation-free and classless society. It asked all those who were anxious to establish human values in the society to come ahead and devote themselves to make the movement a success. In a reasoned speech, Sri Shankarraoji explained the secret and significance of the resolution. He finished saying that the message of this Sammelan was that life itself was a Yajna.

Next Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, who had arrived while the resolution was being read, addressed the gathering. He said that three years ago he had written an article in Hindi, entitled *Asamanjas* (or confusion) not meant for publication, at the then strange condition of the country. Curiously, the same word, added Rajendra Babu, appeared in the resolution put forth. But thanks to the progress of Bhoodan Yajna, the clouds of confusion had very much disappeared from his mind.

Then came the valedictory address of Vinoba. Referring to *Jiwan Dan*, he drew pointed attention to Acharya Kripalani's warning. He said that

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the meaning of new resolve was life purification. It gave us all an opportunity to take to incessant self-criticism. Next he dilated on *Dharma*. He asked the workers to recognise the *Param Dharma* and not keep themselves involved in the old, insipid *Dharma*. Also, he expressed his acceptance of the conclusions reached at by Kripalaniji yesterday with regard to politics. He agreed that political structure must be altered. But he said that he need not take the trouble of holding its reins himself, they would be held by those who would do his bidding. He also remarked that one of the causes of the change produced during the past three years was the creation of *Jan-Shakti* founded by Bhoodan Yajna. He claimed that the raising up of required popular strength would change the whole administration and help in the establishment of *Shasan-mukta* or administration-free society. So he called upon Acharya Kripalani to offer himself in the task. He also appealed to all political workers to cast off their differences and take to producing *Jan-Shakti* through the common medium of Bhoodan.

The Sammelan then came to a close. No account of it can be complete without a reference to Vinoba's new dream *Samanvaya Ashram*, an institution seeking a harmonious blending of the *Vedanta* of the *Upanishads* and the non-violence of Buddha.

The Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Conference would be regarded as a memorable event in the history of our country. It offered a platform where persons with conflicting shades of political opinions could eat, meet and talk together. It confirmed the amenability of the Indian mind to the call of love if invoked in a becoming manner. It indicated the readiness of our youth to dedicate themselves for a cause noble and sublime. It demonstrated India's faith in the efficacy of soul-force and its potentialities to meet all other forces combined.

The workers of Banda district presented Vinoba with about 20,000 acres of land and promised to collect another 80,000 shortly. On 30th May at Banda town, Sri Jaiprakash Narayan, the well-known socialist leader, interviewed Vinoba. In Vinoba's prayer meeting he declared:

"After 30th January, 1948, one felt that the inspiration which enthused us to sacrifice and suffering had gone for good. But it is again being now felt that we can solve our problems by non-violence. I trust that through this instrument of Bhoodan Yajna, the two currents of Gandhism and Socialism would meet like Ganga and Jamuna and contribute to India's prosperity and betterment."

In the words of Suresh Ramabhai "This was a prelude to conversion which was to follow a few months after, culminating in Sri Jaiprakash's turning into a gallant and eloquent champion of Vinoba's mission."

On 24th June 1952 Vinoba reached Allahabad city. It was raining heavily. To the crowd gathered at his camp, he said that he demanded one lakh acres from that great district. As Allahabad is known to be one of the most highly educated and cultured cities of India, Vinoba placed the

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picture of his *Samya Yoga* before that intelligent gathering and lucidly explained the details of his programme.

His quest took Vinoba to Telangana where he struck upon and launched the Bhoodan Yajna programme that had been accepted all over the country as the base to build the new order which Vinoba calls *Samya Yoga*. Basing its philosophy on the four verses of the *Gita* (Chap. VI, *Shlokas* 29-32), he points out that the three requisites for *Samya Yogi* society are:

1. No power should be dominant in the society; there should only be a discipline of good thought.

2. All faculties of the individual to be dedicated to the society which must provide the individual with opportunity to growth and development.

3. The moral, social and economic value of all sorts of callings performed honestly according to one's strength should be the same.

Going into its details at one of his post-prayer speeches in Bihar, Vinoba remarked:

"*Samya Yoga* holds that therein dwells in every man the same spirit. It, therefore, makes no distinction between man and man. It even goes further and recognizes no ultimate difference in spirit of man and other animals."

Dealing with its revolutionary aspect, he said:

"People have, upto the present, regarded themselves as owners of wealth they might have. This has produced clash of interests between different groups. I want to replace this idea of the private ownership of wealth in the interest of the society. Acceptance of the trusteeship ideal will transform our entire thinking, our regard to wealth and the relationship between the individual and the society. All that we have is for the service of the society, and not for serving our narrow selfish ends. Indeed if we would but think of it deeply, real self-interest lies in sacrificing it at the feet of the society. This moral upliftment of the people which *Samya Yoga* brings about, is its distinctive feature."

Referring to the economic sphere, he pointed out:

"According to *Samya Yoga*, every man who works for the society to the best of his ability, has a right to livelihood. All work which is an act of service to society must carry equal value. The prevailing practice is just the reverse of it. Intellectual work is regarded as superior to physical labour and paid more than the latter. This distinction between intellectual and physical labour is entirely baseless. Everyone must get full opportunity for development.

"The implementation of this view in the economic sphere will help the building up of self-suficiency in the villages. They will produce all their primary needs, such as, food and cloth, milk and *ghee*, locally. God has made every one of us self-sufficient; that is the beauty of His plan. Every one has intelligence and capacity for work. We want the same kind of decentralisation in the economic sphere. Unless there is economic equality, domination and slavery and consequent distinction of high

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and low are bound to continue."

In the political sphere:

"*Samya Yoga* will produce equally revolutionary changes in the political sphere too. We want an order of society which will be free not only from exploitation but also from every governmental authority. The power of Government will be decentralized and distributed among the villages. Every village will be a state in itself; the center will have only nominal authority over them. In this way, gradually, we will reach a stage when authority in every from will have become unnecessary and will, therefore fade away giving rise to a perfectly free society."

On 4th July, 1952, Vinoba re-entered Benares City where he stayed on for more than two months to pass the rainy season. On his way to the city he passed through Ramnagar, the old headquarters of Benares State. The Rajah who had donated 8,500 acres when Vinoba came to Benares earlier on the eve of the Sevapuri Sammelan, donated another 1,500. The total land collected in the country by that time amounted to 2,96,634 acres as per details below:

No	*State*	*Land (in acres)*
1	Uttar Pradesh	2,54,305
2	Hyderabad	18,132
3	Madhya Pradesh	8,290
4	Vindhya Pradesh	1,038
5	Bengal	32
6	Punjab-Pepsu	61
7	Delhi	1,108
8	Madras	7,119
9	Gujerat	2,549
10	Orissa	1,000
11	Madhya Bharat	2,000
12	Rajasthan	1,000
	Total	2,96,634

From Kanpur onwards Vinoba asked several districts to offer one lakh acres each. An idea of the growing pace of the movement can be had from the following table which shows the daily average of gifts obtained by Vinoba in the course of his travels through Telangana and then on to Kashi Vidyapeeth:

No.	*Region*	*Days taken*	*Land obtained (in acres)*	*Daily average (in acres)*
1	Telangana	60	12,201	203
2	On to Delhi	64	19,436	303
3	Meerut to Sithpur	91	28,308	311
4	Bahraich to Sevapuri	49	46,088	940
5	Sevapuri to Vidyapeeth	76	1,68,643	2,219

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In his book *Vinoba And His Mission* Suresh Ramabhai writes thus: During his stay in U.P., Vinoba went round every district except Almora. In all, he encamped at 257 places in U.P., covered 3,750 miles and obtained 2,95,028 acres. Besides he was donated 231 wells, one tube-well, 34 bullock-pairs, six houses, one bungalow and one Dharamshala, eleven ploughs and a thousand rupee worth agricultural tools, four persian wheels, 1,30,000 bricks, 15 bags of cement, four ponds, 531 trees worth Rs 15,500 and several mounds of seeds. Over and above, he was given *Shram dan* also. The total land collections in the country at that time amounted to a little less than four lakh acres."

On 18th September, when Vinoba was camping at Dhamar, he issued an appeal to the people of Bihar to contribute to Bhoodan Yajna. He told them:

"I had demanded four lakh acres from Bihar as the first instalment. That demand stands. But that much is not going to satisfy me. I have gone far, far ahead. I have a desire that the land problem of Bihar should be solved during my stay here. Should I continue going round the country collecting a few acres or so everywhere, when will the obeject be achieved? But if we do wholesome work even in one state, that would easily solve the problem of the whole country. Our ancestors have already said, 'Control one, control all.' Hence I felt that if you so wish and are ready to co-operate with me I would proceed ahead only after bringing the Bihar revolution to a successful finish. . .

"My first demand is from traders, bankers, ministers, members of legislatures, office bearers of the Congress and other parties and other responsible leaders. They should commence this work by offering me one-sixth of the land they own. They will then find how the entire atmosphere is changed instantaneously. . . .

"I am talking of the solution of the land problem. But far more important thing is working the non-violent method. If we are able to solve the land problem by the method of love and peace, it would earn credit for non-violence. Could non-violence succeed in attaining economic revolution, what else would it not be able to achieve? I have complete faith in the power of non-violence. Come on, recollecting Gandhiji, let us invoke non-violence which was first discovered in India in Bihar and which after Gandhiji's departure we had almost forgotten.

"Jai *Ahimsa*! Jai Bihar. Jai Hind!!!"

Vinoba remained in Shahabad district up to October 1, 1952. Then spending four days in Patna district he came to Chhapra, on October 6. In his prayer meeting at Chhapra, he said that besides land redistribution he was as much interested in the development of village industries. He declared:

"I do not take merely Ram's name, but I say *sitaram*. This means that together with land redistribution, I also want village industries. Often they say that village goods are costly. But the truth is that the article produced in a mill after depriving people of their job, rendering them unemployed

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and compelling them to starve, is not cheap but verily dear. In case the mill is charged with the task of feeding all those unempoyed, mill product would come to be very costly. Calculate all the expenses incurred on mill cloth in order to make its production possible, and then say whether it is cheap or dear! Also stolen material is invariably cheap while the one produced by labour is costly.

"Because poison is cheap and *amrita* (nectar) is dear, would you purchase poison?"

Vinoba entered the city of Patna on 23rd October, and stayed there for three days. As evident from his utterances ever since he entered Bihar, Vinoba was earnestly thinking of tackling Bihar's land problem seriously. He once said:

"I thought if I continue to tour the country in this way, I will get two to three lakh acres every year, but at this rate, in five to six years which I would need for touring India, I will have collected at the most ten to twenty lakh acres only. Collecting ten to twenty lakh acrcs, however, cannot solve the problem. Times were moving fast and if we did not keep pace with them and solve the problem within a specified time our efforts would be in vain; that is, though we might succeed in bringing help and relief to some here and there, yet we would fail in achieving one order based on justice. It was, therefore, evident that somewhere we must concentrate aud try for the full solution of the problem. And I felt that Bihar should be an ideal place for this experiment."

But the response Bihar gave in the beginning was not happy. In Vinoba's words:

"Our initial experience in Bihar was not quite encouraging. It appeared as though we had come up against a rock."

Vinoba asked the workers all over the country to carry on their work dispassionately and with great zeal.

Spending about a week in Manbhum district, Vinoba entered Hazaribagh district on 25th March. At Giridih, in this district, the Raja of Dhanbad donated a lakh and one acre of land, the largest single donation so far. On 13th April, Vinoba came to Gaya district for the second time. His first camp this time was at Rajauli. On May 3 and 4, Vinoba stayed in Gaya town. The Bihar State Congress Committee met on May 3 and passed a resolution asking its subordinate committee and workers to collect 32 lakh acres of land, as demanded by Vinobaji, to solve Bihar's land problem.

On 29th May, Vinoba was camping at Ranka near Daltonganj. The Raja of Ranka spent considerable time with Vinoba. When the latter came to know that the former had donated 2,500 acres and 11,000 acres respectively to two workers, Vinoba inquired of the Raja, "Why this difference?"

"I gave as much as I was asked for," came the quick reply.

"Then how much are you going to give me?"

"As much as you ask for."

"What is the total land with you?"

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"A lakh acres of *parti* land and about nine or ten thousand acres of *khud-kasht*, out of which about three thousand acres have been already allotted to the *Ryots*."

"You have thrown upon me the responsibility to look after your interests as well. I generally demand one-sixth. Hence you please give me the whole of your *parti* land and one-sixth from the *khud-kasht*."

"Agreed," the Raja promptly put in.

Thus the Raja of Ranka donated one lakh, two thousand and one acres of his land.

By the end of July 1953, land collection in Hazaribagh district amounted to 7,01,497.75 acres obtained from 5,091 donors, tho highest in any district so far. The table below gives the figures for the various districts of Bihar upto 31st July, 1953:

No.	*District*	*No. of Donors*	*Land (Acres)*
1	Shahabad	1,012	4,169.20
2	Patna	419	693.90
3	Saharsa	1,964	2,269.84
4	Purnea	2,882	15,155.11
5	Monghyr	38	348.54
6	Champaran	527	853.71
7	Saran	193	350.76
8	Palamau	10,593	1,48,090.96
9	Gaya	17,218	63,725.79
10	Ranchi	8,515	95,679.61
11	Singhbhum	296	13,345.63
12	Darbhanga	216	101.30
13	Bhagalpur	637	370.31
14	Manbhum	310	17,434.71
15	Muzaffarpur	29	71.05
16	Hazaribagh	5,091	7,01,497.75
Total upto 31st July, 1953		49,368	10,64,158.17

Tamilnadu, in the far-off south, was steadily gaining ground. Of all the Bhoodan conveners in the country, Tamilnadu's Sri Jagannathan was perhaps the youngest. He accompained Vinoba for about four months in U.P. and gave himself up entirely to the cause. Sri Shankrrao Deo had been there twice. Sri Jayaprakash Narain, accompanied by Sri Kamaraj Nadar, president of the Tamilnadu Provincial Congress Committee, spent a forthnight there. The combined tour of Sri Jayaprakash and Kamaraj was a highly significant, though very unusual, event of modern India. It definitely illustrated that of all movements and programmes in the country Bhoodan was the only one which was above class, caste or party difference.

As observed earlier the total land collections on the eve of Sevapuri Sammelan amounted to 1,02,361 acres. The position of Bhoodan collec-

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tions at about the close of 1952 and the beigining of 1954 is illustrated in the following table:

No.	*Province*	*Land collected (acres)* By December 7, 1952	By January 7, 1954
1	Assam		1,349
2	Andhra	7,022	10,299
3	Bengal	32	425
4	Bihar	45,081	13,23,796
5	Delhi	1,124	7,745
6	Gujerat	6,224	20,845
7	Himachal Pradesh	1,006	1,360
8	Hyderabad	30,224	73,254
9	Karnatak	99	1,669
10	Kerala	5,500	11,100
11	Madhya Bharat	2,491	57,649
12	Madhya Pradesh	12,526	64,346
13	Maharashtra	239	10,380
14	Mysore	19	2,516
15	Orissa	2,384	50,783
16	Punjab-Pepsu	211	3,584
17	Rajasthan	10,558	2,34,376
18	Saurashtra	...	8,000
19	Tamilnadu	6,442	28,538
20	Uttar Pradesh	3,10,729	5,00,891
21	Vindhya Pradesh	1,283	4,087
	Total	4,43,194	24,07,023

The attitude of political parties and leaders towards the Bhoodan Yajna movement during the last three years has been varied and interesting. It was first taken notice of by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Congress President, who wrote a personal letter to Vinoba in May 1951 appreciating his work when he was in Telangana. But perhaps the first public appreciation of the Bhoodan Yajna movement came from Acharya J.B. Kripalani. As early as in October 1951, he issued an appeal to the people of U.P. in general and constructive workers in particular to make Vinoba's tour a success. In his statement, Acharya Kripalani observed:

"I have watched with keen interest Vinoba's efforts to follow the Gandhian way for restoration of land to the tenants and the landless. At a time when all practical schemes of Gandhiji for political, social, and economic reform—specially economic reform—have been abandoned by our Governments, it is heartening to see that there is one whose faith stands out in bright contrast to the general cynicism of post-independence years. With his great penetrating and adequate conception and his austere

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life of *Sadhana*, Vinobha is most eminently fitted for the work he has undertaken. It was no accident that made Gandhiji choose him as the first *satyagrahi* to inaugurate individual civil disobedience against war-effort of the British in India ten years back. Vinobha was little known then. But Bapu with unerring insight chose him for initiating the move-ment. Gandhiji knew that unlike his previous mass movements, Individual *Satyagraha* emphasized the individual who stood fearless even when deprived of the psychological support of fellow-travellers. In the same spirit Vinobha is again singly and by himself out to solve some aspects of the agrarian problem in India.

"He is holding a conference of constructive workers at Mathura on 1st November, preparatory to his tour on foot throughout Uttar Pradesh. I wish the conference and his tour success. May it open the eyes of the sceptical to yet unexplored possibilities of the Gandhian way. May it afford our leaders necessary guidance in their high and delicate task. Without such guidance this country, so desperately in need of social re-construction, is likely to fall a prey to cruel and bloody creeds, whether of right or left. The real fight today is between methods of reform that are moral and those that are materialistic. If moral methods get no chance because of want of faith and effort, those of violence, hatred and untruth are bound to follow. For the demand grows insistent that men's pressing needs must be fulfilled anyhow. I call upon all constructive workers in Uttar Pradesh to see that everything is done to make Vinobha's pilgrim-age a success. I also request the public to respond to his call and make his path smooth."

The political party, however, first noticing it was the Socialist Party of India (now called the Praja Socialist Party) which, at its Pachmarhi (M.P.) convention in May 1952, passed a long resolution captioned, "Redistribution of Land." In para 14 of that resolution it said:

"This convention notes with joy the noble effort of Acharya Vinobha Bhave to draw the attention of the nation to the urgency and justice of this problem by his unique method of *Bhoodan*. The Socialist Party further welcomes the move of the Sarvodaya Samaj in this direction and reciprocates for co-operation."

In January 1953, the Indian National Congress at its annual session at Hyderabad passed a Bhoodhan Yajna resolutiod to the following effect:

"The annual session of the Indian National Congress deeply appre-ciates the Bhoodhan Yajna movement started by Acharya Vinobha Bhave and appeals to the countrymen, specially the Congress workers, to give active support and co-operation to this movement. It also requests the Central and the State governments to do their best for its success."

After the Hyderabad Congress Session, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, U.P.'s Chief Minister, made an appeal to the people of Uttar Pradesh to meet Vinobha's initial demand of five lakh acres from that State. In the course of it, he remarked:

"The public of Uttar Pradesh is well aware of the Bhoodan Yajna

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movement of Vinobhaji. Going from village to village for several months in this State, he has given a new inspiration to the people and produced a new atmosphere. The main objective of his movement is that the landless villagers should obtain without any struggle and conflict, the right over land which they require to meet their needs. Wipping off the feelings of high and low, he wants to give a new shape and prestige to village-society on the basis of brotherhood, so that morality may develop and all people may work with dignity in a wholesome manner according to their society.

"I hope that the people of Uttar Pradesh will soon fulfill Vinobaji's demand for five lakh acres with zeal and devotion, and with a broad family vision, our village society will march ahead towards progress."

On the occassion of Vinoba's 58th birthday, on 11th September, 1953, both the President and Prime Minister issued appeals to the nation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

Shri Acharya Vinobaji's *Bhoodan Yajna* will not be completed till such time as those, who are given land received in *Bhoodan*, do not get the necessary assistance for their rehabilitation. That is why Vinobaji has begun the work of *Sampattidan Yajna*. Water is absolutely essential for agriculture. For that wells and other water resources are needed. Hence the talk of *Koop Dan* and it is matter of gratification that people have begun to respond enthusiastically to this call. I hope and trust that this *Yajna* will also be popular and will enthuse our people as was the case with Bhoodan Yajna. My request to all is to join this task and help in the *Poorna Yajna*."

Pandit Jawaharlal's Nehru message read as follows:

"Today is the birthday of Acharya Vinobaji. We should so celebrate this day as to help the success of his mission. It is not his mission alone; it is the mission of every one of us, of the entire country.

"Through his long and arduous tours in the country he has instilled new life amongst our people. His powerful call for *Bhoadan* has resounded in the whole country, many heard it and responnded to it to the best of their capacity. I hope that on this day we shall all make efforts to further this great cause.

"Now Vinobaji has placed a new idea before the nation. He has talked of *Sampattidan* in order to rehabilitate and help the landless peasants. He has specially called for the construction of new wells. Our peasant will not be benefitted much if he gets only land and is given no other assistance. Wells are needed in the whole country. I hope and trust that everyone will ponder over Vinobaji's new message and specially help the construction of wells."

The sacred circle of *Bhoodan* went on revolving from one state to another. People were very much enamoured of it. It was out of sheer love for the poor that the rich parted with their landed property. It was only in India that such a movement could find millions of supporters. History of the world has no parallel to such a glorious revolution.

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Sant Vinoba Bhave was helped much by Jaiprakash Narayan who instead of joining Nehru's Cabinet, went to serve the people under Vinoba's banker.

A time came when Jaiprakash Narayan gave up his interest in the *Bhoodan Yajna*. The founder of the movement also became listless. Why? The reasons are best known to Sant Vinoba Bhave.

A historical view about the *Bhoodan* movement can be given thus:

Jawahar Lal Nehru was afraid of the problems of the country. He failed even to feed the nation. He wanted to divert the attention of the masses and therefore he chose Vinoba Bhave to create a show-business of distributing land to the landless. The big land owners wanted to take political benefits. So the glorious revolution survived during the days of Jawaharlal Nehru only. After Nehru's death this movement began to fade away. Sufficient to say that it was a good hocus-pocus to beguile the hungry.

Close to the temple of Buddha in Gaya live about 40 safforn-robed Hindu monks in a math, presided over by the Mahanth. The shadowy, medieval monastery is said to have in its employ no less than 800 muscle-men armed to the teeth with guns and bombs. It has under its hegemony nearly 500 villages, 36 sub maths in Gaya district and a number of others elsewhere, one in Varanasi and another in MP. The math has kept at bay all the anti-zamindari and anti-feudal legislations passed in Bihar and has in the thirty-third year of Independence, no less than 8,800 acres of land.

Vinoba Bhave could not convince the Mahanth to part with the land of the Math so that the landless people of Bihar could get the land as planned by the Bhoodan Movement.

Members of Jayprakash Narayan's *Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini* met in Patna in February, 1978 to make this *zamindar-math* the first object of their struggle to initiate peaceful social change which they called Total Revolution. JP had counselled them while blessing their programme. They launched it, at Bodh Gaya by organising a rally there with the peasant labourers of the area. The day was significant for it was on April 8 in 1974 that JP had led his historic 'silent march' in Patna.

Bihar has, by a modest estimate, over 10,000 such maths all flourishing under the facade of religious trusts. The Bihar Hindu Religious Trust Act, framed in 1950, has failed to tame them. More than three-fourths of the so-called trusts flouted the board's directives, each claiming to be the the personal property of the mahanth in question. The Bodh Gaya math was one such trust, the biggest of all the trusts in the State.

The intrepid boys of the F*hhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini* handed over a memorandum to the Mahanth at Bodh Gaya. It said, "*Ab na koi math hoga, na koi mahanth, bhu shoshan ka ant hoga.*" (No longer will there be a math or a mahanth and no longer will there be oppression of the tillers.) The boys demanded the Mahanth should voluntarily distribute the land among the landless, should annul all the *benami* transactions and restore the land to the rightful owners. Little did they know then that the

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Mahanth of Bodh Gaya had outwitted in the past a plethora of land reform moves by the State Government, now by court cases, now by threats and, when everything failed, by pulling political strings.

The Bodh Gaya math was given the shape of a modern trust in 1932. The Bihar Religious Trust Act came into being in the early Fifties. The Bodh Gaya trust was required to comply with the requirements of the Religious Trust Board. The monastery had a *zamindari* of 487 villages. It went to the lower court, lost the case. It went to the High Court, again lost the case. Its contention that the monastery property was the personal property of the mahanth had not held water. It therefore went to the Supreme Court. Even before the Supreme Court verdict had come, surprisingly the then Religious Trust Minister of Bihar, Mr. M.P. Sinha arrived at a compromise with the mahanth. The State Government recognised that the properties of 140 villages only belonged to the trust. The rest, the properties of 347 villages, were those of the mahanth. By implication, the mahanth had obtained the right to the trust property in 347 villages.

Then came the *Zamindari* Abolition Act and the Land Ceiling Act. Under the land ceiling law, the State Goverment wanted to seize the surplus land of the mahanth. But the mahanth said he had only 25 acres of land. In the records of the Government, however, the mahanth had 6,686 acres of land, as his personal property and the remaining 2,096 acres as those belonging to the trust. But against the 6,686 acres, the mahanth was found to be possessing only 25 acres! The rest had been disposed of through *benami* transactions which the Government was fully aware of, but could do precious little about as the mahanth had powerful political backing. One of his managers, called a *baba darbari*, a former Minister in Bihar, had once been an active Congress worker, and is now in the Congress (I).

The Land Ceiling Act provided for the acquisition of a trust's property too. The compromise document of the late Fifties was mysteriously missing. But the trust was found in the records to be in possession of 2,096 acres. Here too the Government was outwitted. In 1972, a state deputy secretary of revenue, Mr. P.C. Singh, happened to be in Gaya and was startled to see 17 cyclostyled documents, each of which gave one unit exemption under the Land Ceiling Act. The mahanth's trust had overnight mushroomed into 17 trusts plus one principal trust!

What the mahanth did was to secure from the Religious Trust Board and the district administration permission to divide the trust's property into 17 separate trusts in the names of gods and goddesses like "Gaddi Bhagwati, Shree Mahadevji, Shree Panch Pandavas, Shree Ghamandi Nath Ji, Shree Samaddi Mahadev and Tara Devi". In effect, there came to exist on paper one trust for each of the 17 tiny temple-cum-tombs where former monks of the monastery lay buried. This deed of partition, conveniently allowed by the concerned authorties, was quested by the Revenue Department who would not give more than one unit exemption. The

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mahanth challenged the Government's order and filed a writ with the High Court. The case is pending. Thus the Government so far has been able to do nothing about the 8,886 acres still in the mahanth's possession.

A mysterious coup took place in the monastery on July 7, 1978. The old mahanth, Dhynsukh Giri was quietly eased out by his two managers hitherto known as *baba darbari* and *chhota darbari*. What was more surprising, by the registered deed the then Collector of Gaya became an arbiter in his personal capacity. The mahanth was converted into a titular head, required to live as a recluse at Varanasi and all his bank accounts and affairs of the earthly kingdom were to be looked after by a new mahanth, Jairam Giri and the others with him. It was this shrewd Giri whom the *Chhatra Yuvak Sangharsh Vahini* were required to tackle in their struggle.

The boys went to work quietly in the harijan hamlets, organising them into kisan samitis. tutoring them on how to live a clean, healthy and oppression free life. Programmes were started for adult education, prohibition and the like. They located *benami* lands of the mahanth in 50 villages totaling 6,000 acres. Prabhat, Kuru, Pradeep of the Vahini were camping in the villages. Anil, Kanchan, Kumud and a host of others visited them frequently. The mahanth sent feelers offering 500 acres of land for distribution among the poor. But that was a ruse. The land was found to be barren, already having been gifted to Vinoba Bhave earlier.

The first encounter with the mafia of the mahanth took place in May 1978, in Gosai Persa village. Two hundred acres out of the mahanth's 353 acres were liberated. The villagers would not allow the sharecroppers of the mahanth to take the mahanth's share, instead the mahanth's share would go to the village assembly. The complete transformation of the village occurred by July last. The infection spread to other villages. Here and there the mahanth's musclemen started fleeing the villages. Simultaneously a non-cooperation movement was started. No villager would till the mahanth's land, nor would anyone encourage the sharecropping system. Instead, the poor landless would work on the food for work programme and subsist somehow. The mahanth and the army of harijans were now on collision course.

On August 5, 1978 in Shekhwara village, village-delegates from 26 villages collected. There was a community feast followed by a rally. The boys of Patna had steeled the grit of the illiterate masses. The same day at Patna, a Vahini boy, Madan, met the State Chief Minister, Mr. Ram Sundar Das, and told him of the explosive situation in the villages where the Bodh Gaya mahanth had his land. The new mahanth was getting desperate. Madan wanted a search of the monastery which had turned into a "garrison" packed with illegal arms.

On August 7, the landless, led the Vahini boys, staged a demonstration at Bodh Gaya, shouting, *Dharti math chhor*," (Grabbers of land quit the math.) The meeting gave an ultimatum to the mahanth and the authorities. The landless labourers wanted immediate land distribution. They asked

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the legislators and parliamentarians of the area to support their stand, or else they would be gheraoed. The block officials were asked to move, otherwise their work would be paralysed; movement on the G. T. Road would be blocked. The same day three shots were fired in Teeka Bigh village in an attempt to terrorise the villagers. The stage was now set for the showdown.

In Mastipur village, very near the Lord Buddha's temple, in the backyard of the Bodh Gaya community development block Miss Kanchan, a postgraduate student of Patna University, was in a harijan hamlet. The villages had the mahanth's land which the villager had refused to till at the master's dictates. From nowhere, about 40 hefty men with lathis and spears arrived in groups. They, however, scattered as the vigilant villagers got wind. Soon they saw hired labourers from elsewhere ready to plough the fields with oxen. Men, women and childred lost no time in rushing to the field to 'offer satyagraha', to implore the labourers to stop the tilling. They shouted: "*Ab na koi math hoga, aur na koi mahanth.*" (Now there will be no more maths or mahanths.)

The hired men gave up the tilling. Soon, bombs were hurled on the crowd of villagers moving towards the fields. They stood there undeterred. Children ran about helter-skelter. Soon an Ambassador car came and people fired from inside it. One by one the labourers slumped to the ground. Ramdeo and Panchu, both harijan bhuiyas, were breathing their last. Close by, a *gumasta* of the mahanth was lying in a pool of blood. The carnage left three dead, and several wounded. The Vahini girls, Kanchan and Kumud, took the injured to Gaya, shadowed by the mahanth's men. "We escaped. Otherwise the musclemen could have done anything to us," one of them said.

The police came promptly after the attackers had left the scene. The Vahini boys told JP how mercilessly the police had beaten up Prabhat, Firangi Lal and Karu in the lock up with their mouths gagged. Cases were registered, the first at the instance of the mahanth who named the Vahini boys as being behind the bloodshed. The police hauled up six of the Vahini boys, and five of the mahanth's men.

JP's first experiment of a peaceful class struggle through his teenage, unarmed soldiers ended in violence. The Vahini boys from all over Bihar held a rally at Bodh Gaya on August 15. The mahanth's land is where it was. The villagers are scared. Here is a Special Report published by the *Sunday*, dated 9th September 1979. A view of this report shows the failure of Bhoodan Movement. Is it that Vinoba has betrayed the landless?

At the annual sarvodaya conferences the apoilitical sarvodaya leaders got a chance to deliberate with the political leaders, the meeting ground being their common adherence to Gandhian philosophy. At the sixth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Bodhgaya in April 1954, Prime Minister Nehru flew in from Chidambaram in Tamil Nadu to attend the conference and JP dedicated his life to the Sarvodaya movement telling Vinoba. "In response to your call for Jeevandan I offer my humble life for the

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attainment of a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan yajna and sustained by village industries."

From bhoodan Bhave moved to *shramdan* (gift of labour), *Buddhidan* (gift of intellect), *Sampattidan* (gift of property), *Jeevandan* (gift of life) and and *Gramdan* (gift of entire village to be run on the lines of the Sarvodaya philosophy). The 1955 Avadi session of the Congress which passed the resolution to usher in a "socialist pattern of society" also adopted another which put on record Bhave's great work. But it must also be recorded that the redistribution of Bhoodan land has been extremely tardy and there have been other complaints as well.

In the following years Vinoba tried to reform those Chambal dacoits who wished to "surrender" and lead a normal life. In May 1960 as many as 11 top dacoits surrendered to Vinoba, who had adopted a very paternalistic attitude to the dacoits explaining that poverty, personal feuds and police repression had led them to outlawry. The police naturally resented such an attitude and K.F. Rustomji the IG of the MP police declared that the Vinoba mission ". . . had delivered a blow to the morale of the police force . . . It had insuited the courage and devotion to duty of men who stood up to fight the dacoits." He also charged that during negotiations the dacoits had been given the impression that their cases would be dealt with favourably by the government.

Vinoba said that he had always told the dacoits that the law would take its own course and in dealing with such cases it was desirable to "add the human touch," which was what he was doing: "The very fact the President of India is empowered to commute death-sentences is a positive proof that the Indian Constitution honours kindness and compassion."

In 1961 after the Assamese-Bengali riots in Assam, Prime Minister Nehru personally requested Vinoba to go to the North eastern state to "heal the wounds." And the Bhoodan leader undertook the long trek to Assam. On his way back, Vinoba treked through the then East Pakistan, where also he preached his 'land-gift' philosophy and obtained as much as 75 bighas in Bhoodan! It was here that Vinoba voiced again his slogan of '*Jai Jagat*' (one world). Incidentally, while Ayub Khan acceded to Vinoba's request for permission to trudge through East Pakistan, Nehru's government pleaded inability to permit him to enter Nagaland.

In February 1965 Vinoba went on a fast against the language riots then ravaging the country. On the fifth day of his fast, Prime Minister Shastri who had earlier flown in to seek Vinoba's blessings sent Home Minister Nanda to assuage the Bhoodan leader's outraged sentiments.

In mid-sixties Vinoba announced his retirement but continued to periodically hold forth on different aspects of Sarvodaya philosophy. He advocated the formation of "an incorruptible body of constructive workers seeking no power. He called this force *Lokshakti* (power of the people) which would temper both *Himsa* (violence) and *Dandshakti* (state coercion). Vinoba was not unaware that his views were not always taken too seriously. He said "Who cares for my suggestions; When a king

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speaks, an army moves, but when a *Fakir* speaks only the beard shakes!"

In July 1974, when the Bihar agitation led by JP was in full cry differences arose between him and his mentor. Vinoba could not approve of JP's call for the dissolution of the state assembly when it had completed two years of its term and fresh elections were due in three years. In any event, Vinoba had always wanted the Sarvodaya workers to remain apolitical. The majority of the members of the working committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh supported JP while a handful of members, notably Mrs. Nirmala Deshpande and Mr. Narendra Dubey, were against extending the movement outsidc Bihar into a course of confrontation with the centre.

On 12 march, 1975, JP resigned from the working committee and other panels of the Sangh but remained a Lok Sevak which, he said, was akin to the four anna membership of the Congress. Forty Sarvodaya leaders, including 20 out of the 24 working committee members, quit along with JP.

Vinoba, who temporarily broke his *maun* (vow of silence) to talk with JP, favoured the dissolution of the organisation rather than allow JP and other Sangh workers to participate in elections. He subsequently relented on this, agreeing with the suggestion of the Sangh President Siddharaj Dhadda that the organisation observe silence so long as Vinoba continued to so—its members would neither do or say anything in the Sangh's name, vis-a-vis JP's movement. They could of course take part in it. A remarkable case of compromise which involved looking the other way about one's own word and deed!

But there wasn't to be a compromise because Mrs. Gandhi soon declared emergency and JP and others were put behind bars. On 16 July 1975 Vinoba hailed the emergency rule as *Anushasan Parva* (era of discipline) and thus began most ignoble courtship of the octogenarian Bhoodan leader by the authoritarian regime. Mrs. Gandhi was very obviously 'using' Vinoba, and the Bhoodan leader let himself be used.

In September 1975 Vinoba divested the Sarva Seva Sangh of the authority to nominate members of the statutary Bhoodan Boards which were then being reconstituted by several state governmants. The authority went instead to Narendra Dubey and Nirmala Deshpande, both close to Mrs. Gandhi and then heading the All India Bhoodan Silver Jubilee committee.

On 30 March, 1976, Vinoba declared that Western democracy was not suited to India which was another way of saying that Mrs. Gandhi was justified in going ahead with her drastic constitutional amendments.

On 17 April, 1976, he demanded a total ban on cow slaughter and on 11 August, all inmates of the Paunar Asbram led by Vinoba began a 36 hour fast in support of their demand. Once again Mrs. Gandhi reponded swiftly with assurances and Vinoba called off his campaign.

As late as June 1978, Mrs. Gandhi met Vinoba along with the two Congress (I) Chief Ministers, Devaraj Urs of Karnataka and Chenna

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Reddy of Andhra Pradesh and N.K. Tirpude, the Congress (I) Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Vinoba blessed the Congress (I) "constructive programme" and said that it should be vigorously implemented for the socio-economic betterment of the country.

And, in November 1976, he heared that Mrs. Gandhi had been elected to Parliament from Chikmagalur. He is reported to have clapped his hands in jubilation. A very uncharacteristic reaction, it was said, for a man who was supposed to have attained that equanimity in joy and sorrow, the *Gita* enjoined. Vinoba clarified that the clapping was linked to his 'mood' at the time!

On 25 November 1978, Vinoba announced that he would go on fast from 1 January in support of a countrywide ban on cow slaughter. He reiterated his intention in his address to the three-day Gram Swarajya Sammelan in which all sections of the Sarvodaya movement came together for the first time since the 1975 split.

On 30 December 1978 Prime Minister Desai met Vinoba and persuaded him not to go ahead with his proposed fast. Vinoba relented for 111 days and on 22 April 1979 he began his fast unto death to bring into line the recalcitrant states of Kerala and West Bengal where the Communist governments had refused to be swayed by an old man's absurd adamancy on such a non-issue. He broke his fast on 16 April, only on the Prime Minister's express assurance that the centre would amend the Constitution to bring cow protection in the concurrent list and thereafter bring a central legislation to ban cow slaughter.

The CPI(M) state committee of West Bengal expressed popular sentiment when it said that it was "ridiculous" on the part of Vinoba to "place the cow above man". And in Kerala, more than Bengal, the people are unconcerned about Vinoba's earnestness to protect his *Gomata*. Beef-eating is common among Keralites, and why not? At six rupees a kilo it is considerably cheaper than the other source of animal protein, mutton which sells at Rs 14 a kilo. Keralites are also clear-witted enough to realise that if the cattle population is allowed to grow unrestrainted it will make serious inroads into the agricultural resources of the already overcrowded state apart from retarding the development of animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines.

Vivek Sengupta writes:

"Stripped as Vinoba has been of the aura of sanctified unimpeachability, his much-glorified Bhoodan and Sarvodaya movements have lately been subjected to critical scrutiny which has brought to light many disparaging facts. On 23 November 1978 B. Basavalingappa the Revenue Minister of Karnataka and the Chairman of the state Bhoodan Board said that it was found that of the 17,844 acres of land gifted in 1959, 12,914 acres were 'fake'!

"It has been pointed out that while the Sarvodaya movement has always sworn by the ideals of democracy and decentralisation, it has been marked by the exercise of arbitrary powers concentrated in the hands of

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a few persons whose names appear in the decision-making bodies of most Gandhian organisations.

"Leftists in the country have pointed out that these Gandhian bodies have all along been freely funded by the government and capitalists alike. *Prima facie*, this may appear to be in order, they say, but a movement which depended on state funding for running ashrams and disbursing salaries to its workers could hardly become a people's movement involving mass mobilisation. The Sarvodaya movement, they say, encouraged class collaboration as opposed to class struggle. The ashrams never did encourage the emergence of an organised opposition to landed interests in the countryside, while they themselves paid less than the minimum legal wages to the farm-hands working in their sprawling farms. There have also been numerous complaints of instances in which the landless never got their *pattas* (land-deeds) for Bhoodan land or the land went to wrong hands."

This shows that the Bhoodan movement run by Vinoba Bhave was a fake one and most of the lands gifted in 1959 were not really gifted.

Vinoba's movement was based on piety. From Vinoba's fasts and other pious activities, we have come to conclude that Piety in India was also based on fraudulant activities. Piety and fraud cannot go together. Let us suffice to say that India saw Piety being betrayed.

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7 *The Cross In A Crucible*

In 1954 the Government of Madhya Pradesh appointed a Committee known as the Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, Madhya Pradesh. The first volume of the Report, containing conclusions and recommendations, was published in 1956. It makes most amazing reading. The terms of reference of the Committee were to enquire into allegations of 'fraud and temptations of monetary and other gains used by missionaries in making converts. It was also to enquire into other allegations against missionaries and by missionaries.

The Committee was made up of six members including a Secretary. It was presided over by an urbane and charming gentleman, Dr. M.B. Niyogi, who had retired as Chief Justice of the High Court in Madhya Pradesh. The solitary Christian representative on the Commiitee was hardly known outside a limited circle, and was an unknown quantity to Christians in Madhya Pradesh. He had not closely associated himself with the church in any capacity for many long years.

Some of the recommendations of the Committee are of an all-India character. The Committee called for a wide-spread discussion of the Report, of its findings and recommendations.

Although the Committee was asked to enquire into missionary activities alone, it took upon itself the liberty of greatly widening the scope. Even the Chief Justice in handing down an adverse judgment in a case questioning the *intra vires* of the Committee said that "the questionnaire was in the nature of an inquisition and in many places the questions amounted to accusations and in others contained unfortunate innuendoes."

The Committee indulged in gratuitious and sweeping attacks on the Christian Church in India, and in the world as a whole. Parts of the Report reveal an amateurish attempt at writing church history from the very early times to the present. From this point of view, Chapter II of Part II and most of Chapter I of Part III give the impression of padding, to make up for the paucity of relevent material relating to the enquiry. One or two Indian Christians are quoted to support the Committee in establishing its prejudices. Frequent reference is made to writers who may be good authorities in their own fields.

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The Report says that work among orphans, unwanted children, the blind, the lepers, and the like is all with a view to winning converts and swelling the membership of the church. It is true to say, "Now as to Christian orphanages, they are undoubtedly being run to multiply the population of Christians."

Terms like 'conversion', 'proselytism', and 'mass conversion', are used freely.

We acknowledge with shame that some Christians occasionally used money power and offer of other worldly gains to win converts. But enlightened Christian opinion condemned it without qualification.

On page 19 of the report we find the statement: "Missionaries deliberately put up false and frivolous complaints against government servants." It is hard to believe it.

The Report indulges in insinuations and innuendoes against Indian Christians and the Christian community in India. It makes it appear that Christians are a group of denationalized subversionists, undermining the security of the country. The only evidence it has in support of it is the alleged activities of one Rev. Joel Lakra, an Indian Christian leader of the Gossner Lutheran Church and the agitation of a handful of tribal leaders, both Christian and non-Christian, in Madhya Pradesh for a separate state to be called Jharkhand. "Reviewing the whole question (work of missions in tribal areas) in the light of its history one is driven to the conclusion that they established a State within a State." On page 32, we are told, "Missionary organizations are so widespread in this country that they seem to constitute a State within a State." What is said about the Nagas in Assam (many of whom are Christians) is partly true. The Nagas have been waging an unreasonable guerrilla warfare with the Government of India for an independent State. Responsible Indian Christians and the Christian Church as a whole support them. At another place the Report boldly declares "Evangelisation in India appears to be a part of the uniform world policy to revive Christendom for re-establishing Western supremacy and is not prompted by spiritual motives. The objective is apparently to create Christian minority pockets with a view to disrupt the solidarity of non-Christian societies."

The Report looks askance at Christian world conferences and councils. They are regarded as dark conspiracies for the reimposition of Western domination upon Eastern countries. Unfortunate expressions used by some of them such as "aggressive envangelism", "world dominion" and "invasion teams" can be interpreted in a literal sense, they are primarily addressed, they mean nothing more than "energetic action." There is no question of using political or military means for the spread of the Christian gospel.

Indian Christian participation in these conferences is frowned upon. Frequent reference is made to Mr. John Foster Dulles having attending the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 in his individual capacity before he became Secretary of State in the present administra-

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tion in United States. The Report makes it appear that certain reactionary Christian missionary interests in India were in league with him and others of his way of thinking. It is a case of "guilt by association."

One of the statements quoted by the Report is that the church is "to claim the whole world for Him who is king and lord of all." This means that Christians are supra-national or supra-racial, in the sense of becoming possible Quislings. Even expressions such as "Colony of heaven" and "Kingdom of God" which Christians understand and use purely in a spiritual sense are grossly used. The Report says that the expression "Colony of Heaven" smacks of extra-territoriality!

The Committee very obligingly recommends that Indian Christians should take over the complete responsibility for Christian work in India. According to it, there is not much need for foreign missionaries, certainly not for foreign money. Mission property is to be vested in the hands of responsible Christian groups.

The Report lists even Theological Colleges and Seminaries and Bible Correspodence schools as evangelistic agencies.

Some of the recommendations of the Committee are:

1. Government control or at least supervision of funds from abroad for Christian work.
2. The compulsory repatriation of missionaries "whose *primary* object is proselytizing ';
3. Prohibition by law of "medical or other professional services as a *direct* means of making converts". (There are a precious few of such converts);
4. Running of orphanages directly by the Government;
5. The strict control of missionary schools by the department of education;
6. The amendment of the Constitution so as to exclude 'conversion' from the right of propagation;
7. The formation of an authoritative organization of Christians (irespective of their doctrinal and institutional differences);
8. Suitable control of conversions through advisory bodies, if not by legislation itself.

The more one reads the Niyogi Committee Report (Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, Madhya Pradesh (1956)), the more one is surprised. The charges levelled against missions and missionaries are that, barring a few exceptions, they are in India not for any genuine humanitarian service, but for conversion brought about mostly by 'fraudulent methods'; that conversions except in rare cases are wrong and quite unnecessary; 'conversion muddles the convert's sense of unity and solidarity' (p. 131), thereby compromising his patriotism, that envangelistic work frequently leads to the disturbance of peace and order and to aggrieved feelings on the part of non-Christians; that since the close of World War II, missionaries have come in large numbers, especially to such areas as Surguja which were formerly closed to them,

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in accordance with a master plan for world conquest; that many of the newcomers are unattached evangelists; that although missionaries claim that responsibility is being increasingly transferred to Indian hands the purse strings are still in their hands; that they meddle in local politics; that they sometimes bring false charges against local government officials and are even unscrupulous law-breakers; that they are an arm of imperialism, and that by their vigorous anti-communist propaganda with the help of American money they are driving India to take sides in the cold war struggle; that Christian schools, hospitals, and orphanages are hotbeds of conversion; that missionary methods and policies are much the same as what they were centuries ago without any change for the better.

One of the pet grievances of the Committee relates to Christian hospitals and orphanages. On p. 155, it says: "hospitals and dispensaries have been the favorite medium of approach to the masses for conversion." The Committee has been able to discover about Christian hospitals that in some of them Christian literature was distributed to patients and Christian prayers were said, and Christian worship was held (at which attendance was voluntary).

As regards schools, the Report says, "it is clear that the Roman Catholics use the primary schools in the villages for conversion" (p. 156). It also claims that there are several cases of violation of the Conscience Clause. Any law-abiding person would deplore it and would want the clause to be strictly enforced. No one, particularly a Christian missionary, has a right to get around such a legal provision, "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion." The remedy proposed by the Committee goes thus: "Institutions in receipt of grants-in-aid or recognition from Government should be compulsorily inspected every quarter by officers of Government" (p. 164). As it is, Government officers have more than enough to do."

A frequent charge made by the Report is that missionaries use 'fraudulent methods' in securing converts. One of these is money payment. On p. 45 is recorded the statement, "In the keen competition that arose between the various missions it was found necessary to advance Rs. 30 to some of the converts as an inducement to change their religion." We are certain that this is evil. Other allurements are said to be 'money-lending as a means of conversion ' and the arranging for the marriage of converts to Christian girls. The implication is that some people become converts only to marry Christian girls.

At another place the Report says, "There is a body of evidence to show that conversions were induced on the promise of gift of salt, plough, bullocks and even milk powder received from abroad" (p. 116). If this be broadly true we are heartily ashamed of it.

The Report alleges that conversions are mostly brought about by "undue infiuence, misrepresentation, etc." (p. 131).

Committee had also written thus: "We recommend that those missionaries whose primary object is proselytization should be asked to with-

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draw" (p. 153). "(We recommend that) suitable control on conversion be brought about through illegal means. If necessary legislative measures should be enacted" (p. 160).

The Madhya Bharat Christian Missions Enquiry Committee, judging from a bare summary which appeared in the press, is a model of moderation compared to the Madhya Pradesh report. According to a Press Trust of India report, in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, September 1, 1956, the Committee suggested that it would be proper for Missions to impress upon their village preachers that 'mass movements and mass conversions' were against "the creed of the Mission' and were 'a departure from their principles.' "Mass conversions,' accordiug to the Report, 'may sterilize the Church and dim its glory." The Committee according to the PTI report, "emphasized the illegality of conversion of minors and its impropriety even on the assent of their guardians." The length to which the Niyogi Committee is prepared to go is found in the statement: "Conversions are mostly brought about by undue influence, misrepresentation, etc,, or in other words not by conviction but by various inducements offered for proselytization in various forms."

The Committee was firm in its belief that minors should not be baptized even when their parents want it; that mass conversions (whatever that may mean) should be stopped and that Christian missionaries should keep their hands off the Adivasis (tribals), Satnamis, and Harijans, for it is assumed that they are gullible.

Bending backwards the Report condemns many earlier practices in the light of the more enlightened views of today. As the National Christian Council Review puts it, "Events of the bygone days are explained not in terms of the contemporary situation, but those of today."

Much is made of a British missionary, Rev. J. C. Christie, who was accused of smuggling rice in contravention of Food Control Regulations. The general impression created is that some missionaries had no respect for the law of the country and that they were no better than ordinary criminals. "Very detailed references are made (in the Report) to the case in which a British missionary, Mr. J.C. Christie, was sentenced to imprisonment."

A large number of foreign missionaries had moved into areas such as Surguja because of a world Christian conspiracy. Under British rule Surguja which was a territory administered by an Indian ruler was a feudal territory, and it suited both the British and the Indian ruler to keep any enlightenment coming from outside.

One of the most ill-conceived recommendations of the Report is that, "No non-official agency should be permitted to secure foreign assistance except through Government channels" (p. 165).

Other recommendations of the Report are: "Circulation of literature meant for religious propaganda without approval of the State Government should be prohibited" (p. 164). "Government should lay down a policy that responsibility of providing social services like education,

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health, medicine, etc., to members of scheduled tribes, castes and other backward classes will be solely of the State Government, and adequate services would be provided as early as possible, non-official organizations being permitted to run institutions only for members of their own religious faith".

Serious attention need be paid to the charge that foreign missionaries meddle in local politics.

The Committee argues that missions today are an arm of imperialism. It approvingly quotes an outdated authority (Barnes) to the effect that "Protestant missionaries have been sent out as limbs of National imperialisms." Concerning work in the Surguja district, the Report says that it is clear that the activity in this district is "not unrelated to the cold war strategy" (p. 101). Concerning the Catholic Church, it says, "There seems to be an unholy alliance between Roman Catholics and American money to save India from Communism."

Missionaries are accused of spreading supra-nationalism among Christians in India (p. 150). According to the Report, "It really means allegiance to a theocratic state, styled the universal church".

The Report makes it appear that if it were not for the support and patronage given by the British in the past, the Christian church in India would not be where it is today.

The Report makes non Christian people unnecessarily suspect the *bonafides* and loyalty of Indian Christians. It makes them feel hostile towards missionary efforts. It is bound to disillusion the Hindus and shake their faith in the sense of fair play and justice.

The Indian genius in the past has been to divide and subdivide and revel in quibbles and riddles, missing the wood for the trees.

The Niyogi Committee Report of 1956 was a very good warning for those Christians who were trying to harm and betray India under the name of preaching Christianity. Perhaps it was a misuse of the constitutional freedom of religious worship.

The Cross was put in a crucible. All the Christian preachers in India felt it that their cat was out of the bag.

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8 *Wonders And Blunders*

In July 1947, the India Independence Bill was passed by the British Parliament which ended the British control over India on August 15, 1947. It was a red-letter day for India. A New Free India was born. Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy, gave up his office and became Governor-General of the Dominion of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of Free India.

In June 1948, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari succeeded Lord Mountbatten as the seeond Governor-General of Free India.

On January 26, 1950 the new Constitution formed by our Constitution Assembly was inaugurated, and India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic with an elected President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Mahatma Gandhi was rightly called the architect of Indian freedom by Lord Mountbatten on the 15th August, 1947.

Let us remember the memorable words of Shri Nehru who, as the first Prime Minister of Free India, in a broadcast message to the nation on the 15th August, 1947, said thus:

"The Appointed Day has come, the day appointed by destiny, and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle awake, vital, free and independent.

"It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materialises. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

"We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of her people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people. . ."

Thousands of people were uprooted from their homes and hearths where they had lived for years and even for centuries. Life for every individual had beeome unsafe.

In two months and a half, the terror became so widespread that over 100,000 lives were lost, five million people became homeless. Property of crores of rupees was either plundered or destroyed, and for millions of displaced people, the new Government had to find home and work.

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Another big and difficult problem facing free India was to bring the Indian States into the Union. After the Partition, the Princes were left free to join the Indian Union or Pakistan according to their sweet will. The foreign press fed by interesting and intriguing hands tried to complicate issues in India by dinning into the ears of the Princes that, after the lapes of paramountcy, sovereignty emerged.

The merger scheme announced by Sardar Patel was much distorted by the British press. *The London Times* betrayed India by writing articles in the light of which Indian Princes also could declare themselves sovereign.

The Government of India being democartic was prepared to allow plebiscite to be held in all cases of diffierence between the rulers and the ruled. If the Indian Princes could carry their people with them, the Government of India would have never interfered with their decisions. But in this the Princes miserably failed.

The task of bringing these States into the Indian Union was a hard nut to crack. There were 562 States, big and small, ruled by independent Rajas, Nawabs and Princes. It was due to the wise planning of Sardar Patel, that this task of territorial integration could succeed in a way that surpassed the most optimistic expectations.

January 26, 1950, is a day in the history of India, for it was on this day, that India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

The Indian Flag was hoisted for the first time in Calcutta on the 7th August, 1906.

The present tri-colour has undergone many changes. In 1906, a patriotic Parsee lady, Madam Came, thought of a design for our flag.

The flag which was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi had his favourite *charkha* as the symbol of Truth and Non-violence. After India became free, on the 22nd July, 1947, the Constituent Assmbly adopted the same flag with the same three colours and the same significance. The only difference between the flag of our freedom struggle then and the Free India's National Flag now is that the *charkha* has been replaced by the *Dharmachakra* of Emperor Asoka.

(Amid loud and enthusiastic cheers and cries of *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented to the Constituent Assembly the flag of free India, a 'tricolour in saffron, green and white with wheel.') It was July 22, 1947, when moving the resolution for adoption of the new flag, Pandit Nehru said:

"This resolution is in simple and slightly technical language and there is no glow or warmth in the words I have read. Yet, I am sure that many in this House will feel that glow and warmth which I feel at the present moment. Behind this resolution and the flag I have the honour to present to this House for adoption, lies history—the concentrated history of a

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short span in the nation's existence but nevertheless sometimes in a brief period we pass through the track of centuries. It is not so much the mere act of living that counts but what one does in this brief life that is ours. It is not so much the mere existence of a nation that counts but what that nation does during various periods of its existence. And I do venture to claim that in the past quarter of century or so, India has lived in a concentrated way, acted in that concentrated way and the emotions which have filled the people of India represented not merely that brief span of years but something infinitely more.

"They have gone down into history, into tradition, and have added themselves on to that past history and tradition which is our heritage in this country. So when I move this resolution I think of this concentrated history through which all of us have passed during the last quarter of a century. Memories crowd upon me. I remember the ups and downs of the struggle for freedom of this great nation. I remember—and many in this House will remember—when we looked up to this flag not only with pride and enthusiasm, but with a sense of suffering also, when we were sometimes down and out. Then again the sight of this flag gave us courage to go on (*cheers*) and many, who are not present here today and who have passed away, many of our comrades, to the last they held on to this flag, and some amongst them even upto death, and handed it over, as they sank, to other hands to hold aloft.

"So, in this simple formula, there is much more than would appear on the surface. There is this struggle of a people for freedom, with all its ups and downs, trials and disasters, and there is finally today, as I move this resolution a certain triumph about it, a measure of triumphant conclusion to that struggle.

"I realise fully, as this House must realise that this triumph of ours has been marred in many ways. There have been, especially in the past few months, many happenings which have grieved us and sorrow has gripped our hearts. We have seen parts of this dear motherland of ours cut off from the rest, we have seen large numbers of people suffering tremendously, and large numbers wandering about like waifs and strays without a home, we have seen many other things which I need not repeat to this House but which we cannot forget.

"This sorrow has dogged our footsteps when we were close to victory and triumph and still dogs us when we have tremendous problems to face in the present and in the future. Nevertheless, it is true, I think, that this moment does represent a triumphant conclusion of our struggle for the motherland (*cheers*). There has been a very great deal of bewailing and mourning at various things, that have happened. As I have said, all of us are sad at heart because of these, but let us distinguish that from the other act of triumph also.

"Because there is triumph and victory in what has happened, it is no small thing for a great and mighty empire, which has represented imperialist domination in this country, to end its days here. That was the objective

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we aimed at. We have attained that objective or we shall attain it very soon. Of that there is no doubt. We have not attained it exactly in the shape that we wanted to, and other things have accompanied it which are not to our liking. It is very seldom that we realise the dreams that we have dreamt. It is very seldom that the aims and objectives with which we start are achieved in their entirety in an individual's life or a nation's life.

"We have example before us. We need not go into the distant past but in the recent present, some years back a great war was waged, a world war bringing terrible misery to mankind.

"That war was fought for freedom and democracy and the rest, that ended in the triumph of those who stood, or said they stood, for freedom and democracy. Yet, hardly had the war ended when there were rumours of fresh wars. Three days ago this house, this country and the world was shocked by the brutal murder in the neighbouring country of the leaders of the nation. Today we read in the papers of an attack by an imperialist power on a friendly country in south-east Asia.

"Freedom is still far off from this world and all nations, in greater and lesser degree, are struggling for that freedom. If we, in the present, have not exactly achieved what we aimed at, it is nothing to be surprised at greatly, nothing to be ashamed of, but I do think that our achievement is no small one. It is a very considerable achievement—a great achievement. Let no man run it down because other things have happened which are not to our liking. Let us keep these two things apart. Look at any country in the wide world. Where is the country today, from the greatest of the big powers to the least of them, which is not full of terrible problems, which is not in some way—politically or economically—striving for freedom which somehow eludes its grasp?

"So think of India in this wider context and do not be terribly down-hearted because things have happened which are not agreeable to us. We have faced many disagreeable things in the past and have not flinched and we shall face all the other disagreeable things that face us in the present or may do so in the future and we shall not flinch or falter (*cheers*). So inspite of downheartedness I stand before you but in pride and thankfulness for what this nation and the people of this nation have achieved (*cheers*).

"It is right and proper that at the moment we should adopt as symbols of this achievement the symbols of freedom. Freedom eludes us in its entirety as it has eluded thus far nearly all humanity. What is freedom, what is the struggle for freedom and when does it end?

"As soon as you take one step forward and achieve something, further steps come up before you. There will be no freedom in this country or in the world so long as a single human being is unfree (*cheers*). There will be no complete freedom so long as there is starvation, hunger, lack of clothing lack of the necessaries of life, lack of opportunities for growth for a single human being, man, woman or child.

"In this country we may not accomplish that because it is a terrific task, but we shall do our utmost and I hope, hand over to our successors when

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they come, a somewhat easier path to pursue. But there is no ending to that road to freedom, just as we sometimes in our vanity aim at perfection but perfection never comes. But if we try hard enough we do approach it step by step and we increase the happiness of the people and their stature in many ways.

"Now I present this flag to you. In a sense this flag was adopted not by a formal resolution but by popular acclaim and usage, adopted much more by the sacrifices that have surrounded it in the past two decades. We only in a sense, ratify that popular adoption.

"It is a flag which has been variously described and some people have misunderstood it and have thought of it in communal terms that some part of it represents this community or that, but when this flag was devised there was no communal significance attached to it. We tried to find out a flag which was beautiful, because a symbol of a nation must be beautiful to look at. We thought of a flag which would in its combination and in its separate parts somehow represent the spirit of the nation, the tradition of the nation, that mixed spirit and tradition which we have grown up in these thousands of years in India. So we devised this flag. Perhaps I am partial but I do think that it is a very beautiful flag to look at purely from the point of view of artistry. And it has come to symbolise many other beautiful things also, things of the spirit, things of the mind, things that give value to the individual's life and to the nation's life.

"For a nation does not live merely by material things, although they are highly important. It is important that we should have the goods of the world, material possessions of the world, that our people should have the necessaries of life. That is of most urgent importance. Nevertheless, a nation, and especially a nation like India with an immemorial past, lives by other things also, things of the spirit (*loud cheers*). If India had not been associated with these ideals and things of the spirit during these thousands of years, what would India have been? It has gone through a very great deal of misery and degradation in the past but somehow, even in the depths of degradation the head of India has been high, the thought of India has been high and the ideals of India have been high.

"So we have gone through these tremendous ages and we stand up today in proud thankfulness for our past but even more so in pride of the future that is to come, for which we are going to work and our successors are going to work. It is our privilege today to mark this transition in a particular way, in a way that will be remembered, and, therefore, I began by saying that it is my proud privilege to be honoured by moving this resolution.

"It will be seen that there is a slight variation in this flag from the one many of us have used during these past years. The colours are the same—deep saffron, white and dark green. In the white previously there was the symbol of the charkha which symbolised the common man in India, which symbolised the masses, which symbolised their industry, which came to us from the message which Mahatma Gandhi had delivered to the country

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(*cheers*). This particular *charkha* symbol has been slightly varied in this flag. Why has it been varied? Because, normally speaking, a symbol on one side of the flag should be exactly the same as on the other side. Otherwise there is difficulty, it goes against the rules, if I may say so. The *charkha* as it appeared previously on this flag has the wheel on one side and the spindle on the other. If you put it on the other side of the flag, the spindle goes the other way and the wheel comes this way or, if it does not do so, it is not proportionate because the wheel must be towards the people, not towards the end of the flag.

"There was this heraldic difficulty, the practical difficulty. We were, of course, convinced that this great symbol which had infused the people should continue but we thought that it should continue in a slightly different form. The wheel should be there, not the rest of the *charkha* which created this confusion. The essential part of the *charkha* should be there, that is the wheel. So the old tradition continues in regard to the *charkha* and the wheel, but then what type of wheel should we have?

"The Asoka wheel itself was a symbol of India's ancient culture and of many things that India had stood for. So we thought that this *charkha* emblem should be that particular wheel instead of just an odd wheel. For my part, I am exceedingly happy that indirectly we have associated with this flag of ours not only this emblem but in a sense the name of Asoka (*cheers*) one of the most magnificant names not only in India's history but in world history.

"It is well that at this moment of strife and conflict and intolerance our minds go back to what India stood for in those ancient days and what it has stood for, I hope and believe, essentially throughout these ages inspite of mistakes and errors and degradation from time to time. For, if India had not stood for something very great, I do not think that India would have survived and carried its cultural tradition in a more or less continuous manner throughout these vast ages. It carried that cultural tradition not unchanging, not rigid, but keeping its essentials, always adapting itself to new developments, to new influences, and thereby always becoming the same but ever different and richer.

"India has not been in the past a tight little narrow country disdaining other countries. India, for long ages in her history, has not only been connected with other countries but was, you might say, an international centre, sending out her people abroad to far countries, carrying her message and receiving the message of other countries in exchange; but India throughout was strong enough to remain embedded on the foundations on which she was built.

"The strength of India, it has been said, consists in this strong foundation. It consists also in its amazing capacity to receive, to adapt what it wants to adapt, not to reject something because it is outside its scope but to accept and receive everything because it is folly for any nation or race to think that it has all the good in the world, all the truth in the world. Once an individual or race begins to think that, it becomes rigid, ungrow-

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ing, and any thing that does not grow, goes backwards and decays. In fact, India's periods of decay are those when it drew herself into a shell and refused to look at the outside world. India's greatest periods are those when it stretched out, sent to far countries emissaries, messengers and trade agents and merchants and received messengers and emissaries from abroad.

"The Asoka period in Indian history was an essentially international period of Indian history. It was not a narrow national period. It was a period when India's messengers went abroad to far countries not in the way of Empire and imperialism but as messengers of peace and culture and goodwill."

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, giving us a beautiful interpretation of the colours of the Asoka *chakra* said:

"The change in the tri-colour denotes renunciation and disinterestedness. Our leaders must be indifferent to material gains and dedicate them to their work in a spirit of selfless service of the nation. The white in the centre is light, the path of Truth to guide our conduct in this life. The green shows our relation to the soil, to the plant life here on which all other life depends.

"The Ashoka *chakra* represents the Law of *Dharma*. Truth or *Satya-dharma* or virtue ought to be the controlling principles of all those who work under this flag. Again, the wheel denotes motion, the dynamism of a peaceful change. There is death in stagnation; life, in movement. India should no more blindly resist changes; it must move and progress."

We sing with enthusiasm our National Anthem which draws us together in brotherhood and loylty. *Jana Gana Mana* which was composed by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore who was also a devoted patriot and worker for Indian nationalism, has been officially accepted as our National Anthem. At the last meeting of the Constituent Assembly which as you know passed our Constitution, Dr. Rajendra Prassad, as the First President of our Republic, made a statement on the National Anthem. He said:

"The composition consisting of the words and music known as *Jana Gana Mana* shall be used for official purposes as the National Anthem of India—and the song *Bande Matram*, which has played a historic part in the struggle for freedom, shall be honoured equally with *Jana Gana Mana* and have equal status with it."

"Gencral Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India, said on January 15, 1946: "The Indian Army did much to bring about the defeat of the Japanese, and all the world knows how well it fought in Assam and Burma. The Indian Army also helped in the defeat of Germany by its bravery and skill in land fighting in Africa, Germany, Italy and Syria."

Before August 15, 1947, the Commander-in-Chief of India was Head of all the Defence Services and occupied a special privileged position next only to the Governor-General. On the appointment of an elected representative as Defence Minister, each Service was placed under a separate

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Chief of Staff. Speedy measures were taken, thereafter, to Indianise completely the Services, especially the Army; and the first Indian took over charge as Head of Army Headquarters in early 1949. The reorganisation scheme included the setting up of the Commands, namely, Eastern, Western and Southern, each under a Lt. General. Revised Army Rules were issued in 1954.

Ever since independence, there has been persistent demand for imparting military training to our youths. To meet this demand a scheme of the Auxiliary Territorial Forces (A.T.F.) was introduced in 1953 and 13,000 people were trained during 1953-54. Leter when it was decided to enlarge the scope of the scheme, the A.T.F. was wound up and its place taken by Lok Sahayak Sena. This Sena aims at inculcating a sense of discipline and self-reliance amongst the people.

With a view to giving military training to the educated youths of the country and infusing a sense of discipline and comradeship in them, the National Cadet Corps was brought into being by an Act of Parliament in 1948. The Cadet Corps undertakes the training of the youths between the ages of 13 and 16.

As a mass supplementary movement to the N.C.C., the Auxiliary Cadet Corps was started in 1953. It was confined to school-going boys and girls between the ages of 13 and 16 years. Its growth was so steady and sustained that from a strength of 1,378 teachers and 66,339 cadets in 1953, it rose to 13,423 teachers and 6,58,956 cadets in 1956.

The first significant step towards modernization of our armed force was the acquisition of the 7,000-ton Leander Class Cruiser HMIS Delhi (formerly HMS Achill) which reached Bombay on Sept. 15, 1948. Since then the Indian Royal Navy acquired 3 destroyers: Rotherham (1750 tons) Redoubt (1705 tons), and Rider (1705 tons), and a tank-landing ship capable of carrying a large number of tanks, vehicles and men to land them directly on beaches. Besides these ships, India was making ship in her own ship-building yards. The first ocean-going ship, the *Jala Usha*, built at Vizagapattam shipyard was launched by Shri Nehru who said: "May this ship be the beginning of many other, big and small, and may they carry the message of India to all corners of the world." The British cruiser, H.M.S. Nigaria, re-named I.N.S, Mysore, refitted and modernised at the yard of Messrs Cammell Laird & Co.,—six-inch gum colony class—was handed over to India on behalf of the British Government by the First-Lord Admiralty, the Earl of Selkirk.

The inevitable division of the Royal India Air Force (R.I.A.F.) along with the division of the country left India with 7 Fighter Squadrons and 1 Transport Squadron. The Government had, therefore, to set itself immediately to the task of developing their Air Force. With an eye to equipping the R.I.A.F. with modern aircraft an immediate formation of a Fighter Squadron of the high-speed jet aircraft had been decided upon. After a few months, the first 3 jet-propelled De Haviland Vampire aircraft landed in India. By the middle of 1948; the Government of India had decided to

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organise 12 Fighter Squadrons in 20 months and 15 Squadrons in 5 years.

The Indian Armed Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, have lived up to their glorious traditions of military skill and bravery estabilished during the two Great World Wars. Both in national and in international spheres they have owned distinction. It fell to the lot of the soldiers of Free India to go abroad not as soldiers of war but as messengers of peace and goodwill. Addressing the units of the Indian Army and the Jammu and Kashmir militia, Shri Nehru said: "You are soldiers of a great and glorious country whose efforts to serve the world peace during the troubled times in Korea, Indo-China and Egypt are well known the world over. With such peaceful traditions, India and her armies will not attack any country, but should we be attacked, we will repulse with all our strength."

Immediately after the Partition, the Indian Army was called upon to establish law and order almost all over the country. It had to stem and quell the surging tide of communal frenzy that had theatened to engulf the whole country in the wake of the Partition. It was called upon to organise refugee camps for the displaced persons at Kurukshetra and Faridabad two of the biggest camps which speak volumes of the Army's organising capacity. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the Army, the Force also gave valuable support in the accomplishment of the stupendous task of carrying out movement of the millions of the displaced people.

Another obligation that the Army and the Air Force was called upon to perform at short notice was to rush to the aid of Kashmir at a crucial movement when Pakistani raiders from across the border, after invading Indian territory, were on the threshold of Srinagar. Even as the Kashmir operations were on, the Army had to fulfil yet another assignment in Hyderabad, against the militant Razakars who had let loose a reign of terror, they restored complete order in the State.

Our troops were engaged in the task of restoring law and order in the Naga Hills in the District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency which were disturbed owing to the hostile activities of a section of the misguided Nagas.

Turning to the humanitarian work done by our Forces, one should like to say that they have come to the succour of the people on occasions of national emergencies like flood, earthquakes and famine in co-operation with the civil authorities.

The Army Medical Corps have provided medical relief to thousands of afflicted persons under very difficult conditions. In addition to their normal duties, the Corps rendered service to the civil population of Jammu and Kashmir hit hard by the Pakistani invasion. An Indian Field Ambualnce earned world-wide fame for service in Korea and was awarded the President's trophy.

The Corps of military Engineers have also won the gratitude of the people by their ungrudging aid to civil authorities in the hour of need. The most notable work done by the Army Engineers was the completion of the Tribhuvan Rajpath in Nepal, which links the Indian border with

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Kathmandu. Besides, the Army Fngineers built up an all-weather air-field at Gauchar, near Kathmandu.

In the international field, India accepted an assignment from the United Nations for service in Egypt. She sent a battalion, with other supporting units, to form part of the U.N. Emergency Force. Our Armed Forces were also working with the International Commissions for supervision and control in the Indo-China States of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Earlier our troops had served with distinction in Korea for which the whole world is indebted to India.

In conformity with the aspirations of the Indian people in the new status of Free India, there has also been introduced changes in the docorations and awards for gallanry. Three military decorations, namely, *Param Vir Chakra*, *Maha Vir Chakra* and *Vir Chakra* for gallantry in combat with the enemy were also announced. Besides a fresh award *Ashoka Charkha*, classes, I, II and III, was instituted for conferment for acts other than in combat with the enemy; as, for example, in maintaining law and order. Members of the Armed Force and civilians including members of Nursing Services alike are eligible for this reward.

Major Somnath Sharma who laid down his life in Kashmir operations was the first recipient of the *Param Vir Chakra*, the highest military honour under the Republic. Had he not held the enemy in check for five hours, the aerodrome would have fallen into the hands of the enemy and therewith the whole Kashmir. Wing Commander S.B. Naronha who died in New Delhi on August 23, 1957, a distinguished airman, was awarded a *Maha Vir Chakra* when in command of a fighter squadron in Jammu and Kashmir for his fearless leadership and unswerving devotion to duty which inspired the squadron as a whole to carry out its offensive to the maximum with remarkable success.

At an investiture held on the 11th October, 1955, by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the heroes and heroines of the country were honoured in the famous Darbar Hall of Rashtrapati Bhavan, for their many deeds of valour and selfless devotion.

Nehru's India will always be remembered for a number of big and small projects. The following projccts deserve special mention here as they covered some of the potentially rich parts in the east, west and south of the Indian Union:

S. N.	*Name of the Project*	*Area irrigated ('000 acres)*		*Installed capacity ('000 Kw.)*	
		Plan 1951-56	*Actual* 1951-56	*Plan* 1951-56	*Actual* 1951-56
1.	Bhakra-Nangal	1361	1881	96	48
2.	D.V. Project	595	—	194	154
3.	Hirakud	261	—	48	—
		2217	1181	338	202

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Bhakra-Nangal. Barrage and the Hydel channel were completed in July, 1956. New irrigation was commenced shortly afterwards. By the end of 1955-56, the project provided 962,000 acres of irrigation to the Punjab, 77,000 acres to Pepsu and 142,000 acres to Rajasthan.

Hirakud. Project was largely executed during the First Five-Year Plan. It was intended to provide irrigation to the extent of 672,000 acres and installed power capacity to the extent of 160,000 Kw. All works at the site of the Hirakud Dam, which is 15,748 feet long and has dykes 17 miles long, have been completed.

Damodar Valley Project East Bengal has a total irrigation potential of 1,141,000 acres and an installed power capacity of 244,000 Kw. It was begun in 1948 and about Rs. 15.4 crores had been spent on it before the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan, and during the plan period Rs. 71 crores have been spent on this project. The hydel power station at Tilaiya and Bokaro Thermal Station with a power capacity of 4,000 Kw. and 150,000 Kw. respectively were commissined in 1953. The Konar dam was opened in October 1955. The Panchet Hill Dam was completed in 1958. The Maithon Dam, was formally opened by Shri Nehru on September 27, 1957, who dedicated it to the people of India. Speaking on this occasion, he said: "The Maithon Dam and other D.V.C. projects will not only benefit the people of West Bengal but the whole India. These projects are undertaken with three ends in view—flood control, irrigation and power generation. There is increasing demand for power in the country and it should be supplied not only to the industries, but also to village and small-scale industries." This dam has an underground power house, the only one of its kind in Asia.

Chambal Project was begun on the Kotah Barrage in 1952-53 and the Gandhisagar Dam in 1953. It will have an irrigation of 1.1 million acres and an installed power capccity of 69,000 Kw. Its benefits began to accrue from 1959. At the foundation-laying ceremony of the Gandhisagar Power Station, Mr. V.V. Dravid, the then Madhya Pradesh Minister for *Chambal*, said on October 11, 1957: "The *Chambal* has a catchment of 55,000 squre miles. Canals from Kotah Barrage will irrigate about 14 lakh acres of land. The electricity generated and Gandhisagar Power Station will greatly develop cottage and other industries." This dam has a generating capacity of 91,000 Kw. It started functioning in 1959. The Chambal Valley Scheme is designed to yield an additional 4,75,000 tons of foodgrains annually by irrigation, and generate 2,10,000 Kw. providing cheap electricity through transmission lines to Indore, Ujjain, Bhopal, Ratlam, Mandsaur, Neemuch, Sheopur and Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh.

The Kosi Project was commenced in 1955. It is intended to provide protection from floods for an area of 6,800 square miles, and to irrigate an area of 1.6 million acres in North Bihar. The principal works include a barrage 241 ft. high, a canal system and embankments on both sides running to 60 miles. Flood protection works at the *Kosi* was completed in

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1959. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan, a total expenditure of Rs. 3.93 crores had been incurred. This work was successfully undertaken on the Kosi Project by voluntary organizations like the Bharat Sewak Samaj and units of the N.C.C.

Nagarjunasagar Project on the *Krishna* River was completed in the First Five-Year Plan period. The project was formally inaugurated in 1955, and the expenditure during 1955-56 was to the tune of Re. 1.11 crores. On the construction of the Coffer Dam, satisfactory progress was recorded. The project provided irrigation of 2 million acres.

The Koyna Project was begun in 1954, and a total expenditure to the tune of Rs. 3 crores was incurred during the plan-period. The total cost Project was Rs. 33.32 crores, and it had an installed power capacity of 240,000 Kw.

Rihand Project, consisted of a dam, a power house and appurtenant works costing Rs. 45.26 crores. It had an installed power capacity of 250,000 Kw. A Central Board was formed in 1954, and the work of digging the foundation of the dam and river diversion work were started. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan-period about Rs. 3 crores were spent.

In 1953, a number of medium-sized irrigation projects were included in the plan. In 1954, as a result of floods which visited several states, flood control progrmmes were given special emphasis.

Most of the schemes included in the programme were mostly for irrigation. The total expenditure in 1953-56 on this score ammounted to Rs. 28·76 crores. Among the larger irrigation projects included in the programme were the Matatila in Uttar Pradesh, the Ghod Weir in Bombay, the Vaigai in Madras, the re-modelling of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal in Andhra Pradesh and the Bhadra and Nugu in Mysore.

At the time of the drawing up of the First Five-Year Plan, various schemes for controlling floods were dealt with as part of the irrigation programme. As a result of the labours of the Flood Control Board many town protection and embankment schemes were undertaken in Dibrugarh, Chhapra, Khagaria, Sitamarhi, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Alipur-Duar Mathabanga, Silliguri, Pansidewa, Srinagar; embankments were made over a length of 235 miles along the *Mahe*, *Ghagra*, *Boorhi-Gandak* rivers. In addition to these schemes for raising the level of villages in the flood affected areas in the eastern districts, repairs to the Benaras ghats were also undertaken. During the last two year of the first plan, the total expenditure on flood control works especially approved was to the tune of Rs. 10·8 crores. Of this, Rs. 2·9 crores went to Assam; Rs. 1.62 crores to West Bengal; Rs. 2·54 crores, Bihar; Rs. 2·75 crores, Uttar Bradesh, and Rs. 494 lakhs, Jammu and Kashmir.

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan says:

Jawaharlal is looked upon as the greatest statesman-philosopher since Ashoka. There is a striking parallel between Mahatma Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi, between Ashoka the Great and, if I may say so, without exaggeration, Nehru the Great. It appears as if Jawaharlal is destined to

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carry out the message of Mahatma Gandhi just as the teachings of Mahatma Buddha were politically materialized by King Ashoka. If we believe in the karmic theories of ancient Hindu sages, and there is no reason why we should not believe them. Gandhi might have been Buddha and Nehru might well be Ashoka through the reincarnation of the soul, as Sri Krishna has told us in the Gita that the great souls return again and again to the earth for the salvation of mankind."

Jawaharlal said prophetically in his *Discovery of India* :—

For any subject country national freedom must be the first and dominant urge.

But Nehru's approach to God is scientific and not orthodox. He has no faith in idealistic subjectivity.

This is how Jawaharlal combines the practical and the spiritual in his *Discovery of India*. :—

"Even if God exists, it may be desirable not to look up to him or to rely upon him. Too much dependence on supernatural factors may lead and has often led, to a loss of self reliance in man and to a blunting of his creative ability."

"And yet some faith seems necessary in things of the spirit which are beyond the scope of our physical world, some reliance on moral, spiritual and idealistic conceptions, or else we have no anchorage, no objectives or purpose in life."

On October 20, 1949, Jawaharlal found time to pay homage to John Dewey, the leading American philosopher on his 90th birthday. Jawaharlal declared, as he shook hands with the philosopher in New York, that many a time he had recourse to Mr. Dewey's work and found inspiration when in doubt and mental conflict.

Abdul Majid Khan says:—

"Jawaharlal has brought philosophy down to political platfrom or raised political platform to the turret of a philosophical heaven."

There is no-doubt about the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru was a political philosopher and a philosophical politician too.

Jawaharlal Nehru belonged to an illustrious family of Kashmiri Brahmins. His ancestor, Raj Kaul, was widely respected in Kashmir for his profound scholarship. Farrukhsiar, the Moughal Emperor, when on his visit to Kashmir heard about Raj Kaul's proficiency in Persian. He met Raj Kaul and persuaded him to migrate to Delhi, the Imperial Capital, in 1716, The Mughal Emperor granted Raj Kaul a house on the bank of a canal and the fact of his being a dweller on the bank of a canal added the suffix "Nehru" to his name.

The Nehrus enjoyed a responsible position under the East India Company. But 1857 adversely affected the fortunes of the Nehrus, who lost all their money and other possessions. When Fate began to frown on them, the Nehrus made a move to Agra. It was in Agra that Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, the father of Jawaharlal, was born on May 6, 1861. Pandit Motilal Nehru was educated in the Muhammadan *Maktabs* till

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the age of twelve and acquired a working knowledge of Perrsian and Arabic. Afterwards he joined the Government High School at Kanpur and passed the Entrance Examination in the first division. At the Muir Central College, Allahabad, Motilal underwent his collegiate course and amongst his fellow students at college was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. In short period of three months he devoted to the study of Law, he passed the *Vakil*'s examination topping the list of successful candidates. After serving the term of apprenticeship for three years at Kanpur, Motilal went to Allahabad to practise in the Hight Court. It was in the historic city of Allahabad that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was born on the November 14, 1889.

In May 1905, when only a boy of fifteen, Jawaharlal set sail for England, accompanied by his father and mother. He started his schooling at one of the schools of English aristocracy—Harrow. It was there that he came across books on Garibaldi and the Italian struggle for freedom. The life of Garibaldi fascinated him a lot and brought before his imagination the vision of a Free India.

From Harrow, he proceeded to Cambridge. It is significant to remember that he graduated in the Natural Sciences Tripos ; his subjects being Chemistry, Geology and Botany, remarkable background for a man who was to handle the affairs of the growing nation.

After spending three years in Cambridge, he graduated in 1910. Then he went in for Law, He was called to the Bar in the same year he returned to India, after a stay of over seven years in England.

He joined the Allahabad High Court as a barrister and pursued his profession as a lawyer for a few years.

Jawaharlal married in 1916 in the city of Delhi. The summer following his marriage, he spent in the glorious valley of Kashmir.

The years following the Great War of 1914-1918, were full of political excitement for Jawaharlal. He was never attracted by religious people. He says "Religion in the limited sense did not appeal to me. I dabbled a little in the various sciences as a dilettante might, and found some pleasure in them and my horizon seemed to widen. But still I drifted and doubted and was somewhat cynical. Vague ideals possessed me, socialistic and nationalistic, and gradually they seemed to combine, and I grew to desire the freedom of India passionately. I was troubled by these feelings and felt my helplessness. There seemed to be no obvious way of realising my heart's desire. Then came Gandhiji and pointed a way which seemed to promise results or at any rate which was a way worth trying and afforded an outlet for my pent-up feelings. I plunged in, and discovered that I had at last found what I had long sought. It was in action that I found this, action on behalf of a great cause which I held dear."

Jawaharlal first went to jail during the non-co-operation movement of 1921. Altogether he served eight terms in prison. He was sentenced to an aggregate of fifteen years; several sentences, however, were

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reduced and he was released before time so that he actually was in prison for about seven years.

The Swaraj Party under C R. Dass favoured entry into council chamber under Montague-Chelmsford reforms to which Gandhiji and his group were opposed. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was invited to join the Swaraj Party which was favoured by his father, but he refused to do anything of the kind.

Pandit Nehru made up his mind to visit Nabha, a Sikh State in the Punjab, whose ruler was deposed by the British, and consequently the Sikh leaders had entangled themselves with the officials who belaboured the non-violent Sikh parties who proceeded to perform a religious ceremoney at Jaito, the capital of the State, Having refused to obey the orders of externment from the State, Pandit Nehru was arrested, handcuffed and locked up in a rat-infested dungeon. Then after the farce of a trial, lasting over a week, he was sentenced to an imprisonment of two years and a half. It was to be a rigorous imprisonment. And that also on the charge of a conspiracy.

From the Nabha State and its inhuman prisons, Pandit Nehru carried with him the gift of typhoid which confined him to bed for several months. On his recovery he set sail for Switzerland to recoup his health. He also visited Belgium, Germany, Russia and other European countries. Among other Indian patriots languishing in foreign lands as exiles, he met Raja Mahendra Pratap and was deeply touched by his forlorn condition. At Brussels he took part in a World Conference where the slogan was, "Oppressed of the World, Unite!" and Germans who were at that time "the coolies of international finance" were largely represented. The genius who impressed Pandit Nehru the most was Ernest Toller, the German poet.

From Brussels he went to Berlin, then though impoverished, throbbing with new life, and passed on through Warsaw to Moscow where he examined at first hand the Soviet planned economy. He also found that Russia had no expansionist designs on India. "It is only the rigidity of the present British Government," he said, "that seeks to encircle and strangle Russia." He found much in common between the peasantry of India and Soviet Russia. Politically his visit was a fruitful trip.

Laden with a communistic outlook, Pandit Nehru received a cold shoulder from the vested interests who at once feated and admired the rising star on the horizon of India for his bold stand and outspoken manners. He served as a red rag to the capitalistic bulls throughout the length and breadth of the country.

When the Simon Commission visited India, the nationalists stood for action. At Lucknow Pandit Nehru was the first to greet Sir John Simon with a black flag.

At the Calcutta Session of the Congress, Pandit Nehru, Subhas Bose and Srinivas Aiyangar formed the leftist wing and forced the Congress willy-nilly to steer a middle course between Complete Independence and

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Dominion Status. One year's ultimatum was served on the British Government to grant Dominion Status in order to avoid the threat of a movement for Complete Independence.

The Lahore Session of the Congress, found Pondit Nehru at the helm of affairs. He was made the president. That was a clever move of Mahatma Gandhi who withdrew his name in favour of Nehru to divorce him from the leftist element under Subhas Bose who, now deserted by his formidable associate against the right wing forces, was constitutionally helpless against the feeble-minded elder politicians. Prof. Abdul Majid says: "One sometimes wonders if it was morally and politically a correct move for Panditji to leave the forward group in the lurch at a time when the Gandhiites were so shaky and tottering on their legs before the logic of the youngsters. And what exactly were the feelings of Subhash Bose at this desertion?"

Subhash was betrayed by Nehru.

Then there came the Salt March of 1930. Mahatma Gandhi began to bewilder the British Government by manufacturing salt on the sea beaches of Bombay. "Salt," says Nehru, "became suddenly a mysterious word, a word of power." Nehru soon found himself safely lodged in prison from which he was released on the eve of his beloved father's death. Once again he was arrested in December, 1931, and remained His Majesty's prisoner till August 30, 1933, when he was set free on account of the serious illness of his mother. In February, 1934, however, he was again arrested and remained behind the bars till February, 1935.

Immediately after his release in 1935, Pandit Nehru took his wife Kamla, now suffering from T. B. to the German health resort of Badenweiller. He also visited England where he delivered some fiery speeches. It was the time when the Government of India Act of 1935 was on the anvil and Pandit Nehru started hammering right from the home of its origin. "The new India Act," he declared at Caxton Hall, "is a constant irritation for revolt."

Kamla Nehru, could not survive the fatal disease of tuberculosis from which she had suffered due to the rigours of imprisonment and was only released on the verge of death bed. She passed away on February 25, 1936.

In August, 1936, Pandit Nehru made a tour of the Punjab districts and was deeply impressed with the awakening that was taking place everywhere. "The Punjab," he said, "is an astonishing province." Sometimes it is a stumbling block and sometimes a fire with enthusiam. Its strong arms stretch out in yearning for the freedom and it is destined to blaze a trail for others to follow."

Pandit Nehru once again went on a flying visit to Spain in the midsummer of 1938. Spain, seething with discontent for pretty long time, had now embarked on an epic Civil War between the fascists and socialists in which the Axis Power backed up General Franco, while London and

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Moscow remained passive observers.

Jawaharlal was in Geneva when the amputation of Czechoslovakia was in progress to satisfy the lust of Hitler.

There arose a rift in the Congress ranks over the re-election of Subhash Bose who did not enjoy the hearty confidence of the right-wingers led by Mahatma Gandhi who could not conceal his embarrassment in spite of his saintliness when the nation voted Bose to the chair, and he publicly acknowledged it as a personal defeat. Jawaharlal Nehru was not in a mood to take sides and did his best to abridge the gulf. "The vital question before us is," he said, "how we are to shape in the coming national and international crisis.

In August, 1939 Pandit Nehru paid his historic visit to Chungking where he was received by the highest dignatories of the Chinese Republic at the aerodrome. He had a heart-to-heart talk with Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek about Indo-Chinese affairs. He was yet in China when the war broke out in Europe in September, 1939, and he hurried back to India.

The Indian National Congress, was opposed to forced participation of India in war, and questioned the war aims of Britain. It was essential that Britain should have explained her aims, but the Downing Street refused to reply the crucial question and rather shrouded itself in impenetrable silence. The Congress Ministries, not getting a response from the British imperialists, resigned over the issue.

Then came Sir Stafford Cripps with the magic wand for all troubles in April, 1942, but his vague and dubious offer, which he had long smoked in his pipe at moscow and London, naturally ended in smoke at Delhi. He seemed to have been well served for the bureaucracy with a roseate spoon of submission and hasty retreat left behind the chaos of a drawn battle-field. The result was the August Revolution of 1942 which caused a national earthquake. It was during this mighty movement that Pandit Nehru was arrested. He was released because his liberty had been demanded by the people the world over and monster meetings had been held in his favour at New York, but the British bureaucracy was bent upon crushing the national movements and had refused to listen the voice of sanity from within as well as without. His last destination of confinement was unknown.

Jawaharlal speaks thus about Gandhiji:

"Whether Gandhiji" writes Jawaharlal, "is a democrat or not, he does represent the peasant mass of India ; he is the quintessence of the conscious and subconscious will of those millions. It is perhaps something more than representation : for he is the idealised personification of those vast millions. Of course, he is not an average peasant. A man of the keenest intellect, of fine feeling and good taste, wide vision, very human, and yet essentially the ascetic, who has suppressed his passions and emotions, sublimated them and directed them in spiritual channels ; a tre-

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mendous personality, drawing people to himself like a magnet and calling cut fierce loyalties and attachments all this so utterly unlike and beyond a peasant. And yet withal he is the great peasant with a peasant's blindness to some aspects of life. But India is a peasant India ; and so he knows his India well and, reacts to her lightest tremors, and gauges a situation accurately and almost instinctively and has a knack of acting at the psychological moment."

If Jawaharlal has admired Mahatma Gandhi warmly Mahatma Gandhi has praised Jawaharlal with equal fervour. Mahatamaji had paid a handsome tribute to his "heir," calling him a warrior with the prudence of a statesman:—

"In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of country? He is rash and impetuous, say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he had the dash and the rashness of the warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans per, sans reproche.* The nation is safe in his hands.

"My feeling about Jawaharlal is nothing but that of love and admiration," says Gandhiji. He further says "In courage and patriotism none can excel Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Possessed of a soldier's daring and a statesman's wisdom, he is pure as crystal. He is truthful beyond doubt and brave without a blemish."

During election campaign, he travelled over one lakh of miles, in twenty-two months and reached almost every village in India. He used vehicles ranging from bullock carts to aeroplane. Once he made 150 speeches in one week.

In international sphere he had gained most in esteem of other people. His foreign policy had received added importance.

For full ten years he was either General Secretary or President of Congress. He was one of the few Indians who had been presidents of the Congress three times. He was mainly responsible for the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in 1929, and at Karachi in 1931 he persuaded the Congress to accept the famous resolution of Fundamental Rights.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru travelled extensively, not only in European countries and the Far East, but in his own country also. These travels were under-taken in order to spread the mission of the Congress. Thus he described his journey in the Surma Valley:

"As I journeyed from one valley to another, the railway crept along (for it went very slowly) between thick forests on either side; almost impenetrable, so they seemed. They came right upto the railway line, leaving only a narrow passage grudgingly for us to pass through. Their

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million eyes seemed to look down with disdain on this human effort, and were full of the hostility of the forest against man, who had dared so much against it, and cleared it to enlarge his domain. Their thousand mouths were agape with the desire to swallow him and his works. The call of the jungle and the mountain has always been strong within me, a dweller of cities and of plains though I am, and I gazed at these forests, and jungles, fascinated and wondered what myriad forms of life and what tragedy they hid in their darkness. Bountiful nature, or nature red in tooth and claw—was it much worse in these forest recesses than in the cities, and the dwelling places of men and women? A wild animal kills for food to satisfy his hunger. He does not kill for sport or for pleasure of killing. The fierce fights of jungle are individual fights, not the mass murder that man calls war; there is no wholesale destruction by bomb and poison gas. The comparison seemed to be all in favour of the forest of the wild animals.

"So I thought as I watched the pressing jungles. Gathering of people at small stations and many tribal folk with gracious gifts of fruit and flowers and cloth woven by themselves and fresh milk came to welcome me. Bright eyed Naga children gave me garlands to wear. Some of these tribal people pressed some money on me also, coppers and nickel coins for Congress work, they said. And I felt ashamed and humble before their clear gaze, full of faith and affection. What of the cities with their selfishness and intrigues and money-grabbing?

"And so to our destination, and big crowds and rousing welcomes and *Bande Matram* shouted vigorously to the skies. A motor journey through the villages with crowds and welcome everywhere, and on to Silchar. The audience at the meeting there seemed to be bigger than what I had been told the population of the city was. Probably many people came from the villages. For three days I rushed about the valley chiefly in the Sylhet district. As in the Assam Valley, the roads were generally bad and a prodigious number of ferries had to be crossed. But the charm and beauty of the passing scenery held me, and made me forget the roads, and the warmth of the welcome from all manner of people sent a glow to my heart.

"Sylhet was definitely Bengal. The language proclaimed it, so also the *Zemindari* tenants who came, and of whom a large number were Muslims. And yet it had much in common with their unhappy and helpless-looking labourers. Excluded areas were full of tribal people. It was Bengal, but it seemed to possess a definite individuality of its own, hard to define it.

"I was gratified by the enthusiasm for the Congress which the masses showed, an enthusiasm shared by the Muslims as well as the Hindus and even by the tribal people. Obviously good work had been done there in the past and the harvest was promising. It was pleasing also to find earnest workers in all parts of the district. Sylhet has a good number of them and the human material they deal with is also good. Much there-

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fore can be expected of Sylhet. Unfortunately some local disputes have marred the good work, but these cannot be allowed to continue. The cause is greater than the individual, and the worker who does not realize this has failed to learn the first lesson of a Congressman. But I have confidence in Sylhet, in its people and in its Congress workers; earnest and keen as they are and with a record of sacrifice for the cause behind them. And so, as I was leaving Sylhet and was asked for a message, I said "Go ahead, Sylhet."

"In the Bhanubil area of Sylhet I came across a large number of Manipuris. Hundreds of *charkhas* with Manipuri women and girls plying the wheel, sat there in ordered array to welcome me, and their menfolk and charming children stood by. I was surprised and pleased to see Manipuris and delighted to learn of the brave part they had taken in civil Disobedience movement. They had also had an economic no-tax-movement of their own, some years ago, when an attempt was made to enhance their rents.

"There were entirely new people, new to me and so different from all others I had seen in India. How little we knew of our own country and her children! Their features were Mongoloid, they resembled somewhat the Burmese. Indeed the resemblances to the Burmese were many, and included the dress of their women-folk. They were extraordinarily neat and clean-looking, and the young girls with the laughter lurking in their eyes had quite a smart Modern look. The children were charming with their hair over their foreheads cut short and arranged neatly in front. These fascinating people were peasant folk with little or no education, good spinners, and weavers, taking pride in themselves. They were all *Vaishnavas* by religion, but even here some Burmese customs had crept in and I was told their marriages could be dissolved.

"In hills between the two valleys there lies the state of Manipur, which is the centre of these people, and from there this Bhanubil branch had migrated some generations back. Where did the original stock come from, Burma or elsewhere, I wondered. They were called backward, I suppose, and yet with education and opportunity, what could not be done with this attractive and intelligent-looking people?

"In Sylhet I came across many Muslim fishermen, who complained to me that they were treated as social outcastes and as a kind of depressed class by their own co-religionists.

"I have done a fair amount of flying in India, both in the north and in the South. But this was my first experience of flying during the monsoon and I saw a new and pleasing sight. Ordinarily the countryside looks dry and parched, and eyes get tired by the monotony of the landscape. Not so during the monsoon. We all knew how the monsoon brings welcome rain to the parched earth, and the pleasant smell of fresh rainwater on the dry land, and the greenery that blossoms at that magic touch. But to see this from on high brought home this change more vividly. Everything was green, though there were many shades to that greenery,

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and abundant water often flooded the fields. The trees stood out, cool, and cleanlooking and even the little villages that dotted the landscape lost some of their drab appearance. The eye rested, and lingered over this sight, and did not get tired. India seemed to be a green and pleasant land, rich in beauty and the wealth of its soil.

"We flew low, usually about five or six hundred feet, and the land rushed past us. Above us were the clouds, and we had to keep under them in order to avoid blind flying. And because we flew low, and saw the landscape in some detail and observed men and women working in the fields and cattle straying lazily on the pasture grounds. We coule take in that picture from that height, and while seeing a wide expanse of earth, yet be near enough to be of it. Sometimes a hill would approach us, and we would just go over it, and leave it far behind. Sometimes rains poured down on us and battered on the glass screen. We did not worry much about it. Nor did we really mind air pockets, which made us jump. But when the clouds and mists began to envelop us flying low as we were, then my pilot was a little worried. When we reached Bamrauli, it was raining hard, and a mist covered the aerodrome, so that it was difficult to distinguish it.

"I had wanted to start early in the morning from Jamshedpur, and reach Lucknow in the forenoon at the latest. But reports of thunderstorms and high winds were not encouraging, and my pilot, an expert in his job, was in no mood to take risks. We postponed our departure till better report came, and eventually took off a little before noon. We flew fast with a following wind pushing us on. Towns and villages passed us and the river *Sone* and the *Ganga* with Benares in the distance. It had been good flying so far, with only occasional bumps. As we approached Allahabad, black and threatening clouds came nearer and nearer and it was obvious that we were going into a big thunderstorm. Out of these clouds suddenly appeared an Imperial Airways flying boat, a little to our right, and sailed majestically by. It was big enough to go through that storm, but our small plane was beginning to be buffetted.

"Our pilot decided in favour of discretion and turned back to Benares. We landed there on the military aerodrome. After some waiting, which we utilized in filling up with petrol, we decided to venture up again. But the ground did not have much of a way, and our plane felt heavy. So I dropped my luggage in Benares. . .Thus lightened, we flew easily enough and headed for Allahabad. As we approached the city, the low-flying clouds enveloped us and rain lessened the visibility still further. We crossed the *Ganga* and my eye spotted Anand Bhawan and Swaraj Bhawan and many other familiar landmarks. Even the Alfred Park looked singularly attractive from above, perhaps, because of the monsoon. We flew right over the High Court and I could see large number of men of law crowding in the verandahs to see this impertinent little plane rush by.

"And so to Bamrauli in just half an hour from Benares. There was little chance of our going further by air that day, and I bade good-by to

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our pilot, and the gallant little plane that had brought us, and decided regretfully to continue my journey to Lucknow by the slow-moving railway train. The big air liners usually fiy high. The K.L.M. has taken me 18,000 feet above sea level, and flown over snow-covered Alps. We flew so high even over the Dead Sea in Palestine that frost covered our window panes. Once I had a curious experience in an Imperial Airways liner flying over the deserts of Sind. This was first experience of long distance flying. It was early morning, and the down was stealing over the earth, it had stretched out far below me a magnificient snow-field. There it was, stretching as far as I could see on every side of us, a glistening uniform mass of snow. I rubbed my eyes in amazement, and looked again. There could be no mistaking it. But it was absurd to have snow in Sind. Was it cotton, wool, then, masses of it, strewn on the ground. That was an equally fantastic nation. We were flying high, and the sky above us wasclear, and blue. Below us also for some thousands of feet there was no cloud, and then there was this white shining mass appearently covering the ground. The mystery was solved soon enough when we came down five thousand feet and lost ourselves in the clouds. We emerged out of them and under them, and found we were still flying nearly ten thousand feet above the ground. Flying high one loses touch with the earth. It seems distant, and very few details are visible. A big river may be a silver streak, but even a mountain unless it is very high is hardly distinguishable from the low-lying land. There is a little sense of speed as one gets in a car or a railway train with objects rushing past us. But if a plane flies really low, under a hundred feet, then the earth simply rushes up and away."

Most of Nehru's literary work was done in prison. For instance his *Autobiography and Glimpses of World History*. He got no salary for political work and the enormous fortune of his family had gone mostly to the national cause. What little money he needed, he got from writing. He has issued the following publications: *Soviet Russia, Letters from a Father io his Daughter, Glimpses of World History, Autobiography, India and the World, Eighteen Months in India, Where are We? Recent Essays and Writings* and *Unity of India.*

In his own autobiography Nehru gives us the following passage:

"I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West; out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me as she does to all her children in innumerable ways; and behind me lie somewhere in the subconsciousness, racial memories of a hundred or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmins. I connot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me, and though they both help me in the East and the West, they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities but in life itself. I am a stranger, an alien in the West. I cannot

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be of it, but in my own country also sometimes I have an exile's feeling."

"The real Joy of life", says Nehru, "is to work for a great purpose, to understand it and put all the strength and energy of the integrated personality into it. Therein you will experience the full joy of achievement."

Jawaharlal had always been a strong supporter of British democracy, but he had also always been an equally strong opponent of British imperialism. When the Second World War broke out, Nehru declared that India's position was not one of refusing to fight on England's side. "But we want to be free to make our choice," he said. "Right now we are in a situation in which we would be asked to fight for democracy when we do not have democracy ourselves." Nevertheless, Nehru declared that to launch civil disobedience, merely because Britain was in peril, would be "an acr derogatory to India's honour." Further he said, "If the war is really a war for democracy and freedom, then imperialism must end and independence and self-determination of India must be acknowledged." "If that is done," he said, "India would throw her full weight into the struggle." But John Bull would not yield. "I am sorry," wrote Nehru, "for in spite of my hostility to British imperialism and all imperialisms, I have loved much that was England, and I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England."

The reader can easily judge Nehru's mind from the above noted words.

As regards the states of Rajas and Maharajas Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says thus:

"The Indian States represent to-day probably the extremist type of autocracy existing in the world. They are, of course, subject to British suzerainty, but the British Government interferes only for the protection or advancement of British interests. It is really astonishing how these feudal old-world enclaves have carried on with so little change right into the twentieth century.

"Many of their rulers apparently will believe in the divine right of kings—puppet kings though they be—and consider that the State and all it contains to be their personal property, which they can squander at will.

It is perhaps unjust to blame them, for they are but the products of a vicious system that will ultimately have to go. One of the rulers has told us frankly that even in case of war between India and England he will stand for England and fight against his mother country. This is the measure of his patriotism."

Here Jawaharlal Nehru is speaking directly about the betrayal of an Indian Maharaja. Nehru says:

"Even the unity of India cannot be purchased at the cost of India's freedom. We want no union of slaves in bondage. We want a united India but a free India, and we have no shadow of doubt that we shall get what we want."

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Was he true to his backbone? Certainly not!

According to Jawaharlal Nehru the Chief drawback in India was communalism. Thus said Nehru:

"Communalism is essentially a hunt for favours from the third party —the ruling power. The communalist can only think in terms of a continuation of foreign domination and he tries to make the best of it for his own particular group. Delete the foreign power and communal arguments and demands fall to the ground. Both the foreign power and the communalists, as representing some upper-class groups, want no essential change of the political and economic structure; both are interested in the preservation and augmentation of their vested interests. Because of this, both cannot tackle the real economic problems which confront the country, for a solution of these would upset the present social structure and divest the vested interests. For both, this ostrich-like policy of ignoring real issues is bound to end in disaster. Facts and economic forces are more powerful than governments and empires, and can only be ignored at our peril . . . So far as the masses are concerned there is absolutely no reference to them or to their wants in the numerous demands put forward by communal organisations. Apparently the communalists do not consider them as worthy of attention. What is there, in the various communal formulae in regard to the distress of the agriculturists, their rent or revenue or the staggering burden of debt that crushes them? Or in regard to the factory or railway or other workers who have to face continuous cuts in wages and a vanishing standard of living or the lower middle classes who for want of employment and work are sinking in the slough of despair? Heated arguments take place about seats in councils and separate and joint electorates and the separation of provinces which can affect or interest only a few. Is the starving peasant likely to be interested in this when hunger gnaws his stomach? But our communal friends take good care to avoid these real issues, for a solution of them might affect their own interests, and they try to divert people's attention to entirely unreal issues and from the mass point of view, trivial matters."

In his *Recent Essays and Writings* he says:

"I have further added that if the Muslim-elected representatives for this Constituent Assembly adhere to certain communal demands I shall press for their acceptance." (p. 72).

"And final touch was given to it when Gandhiji offered personally to accept every single one of their communal demands, however illogical and exaggerated they might be on the condition that they assured him of their full support in the political struggle for independence." (p. 48).

"That condition and offer was not accepted and it became clear that what stood in the way was not even communalism but political reaction." (p. 48).

These words show that Jawaharlal Nehru was betraying those who were away from communal demands.

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In *Why Cripps Failed* he says:

"The Congress position in regard to the proposal to divide up India into two or more parts is that any such division will be exceedingly harmful to both part as well as to India as a whole." (p. 101.)

Even then Jawaharlal agreed to the partitioning of India. It was surely a betrayal.

So far as India is concerned, not only does Nehru believe that a unitary Indian nation is possible but that, fundamentally and culturally, it exists in spite of numerous superficial differences.

In Unity of India (p. 14) Nehru says:

"Superficial observers of India, accustomed to the standardization which modern industry has brought about in the west, are apt to be impressed too much by the variety of India. They miss the unity of India; and yet the tremendous and fundamental fact of India is her essential unity throughout the ages. Indian history runs into thousands of years, and of all modern nations, only China has such a continuous and ancient background of cultures.

"Like the ocean she received the tribute of thousand rivers, and though she was disturbed often enough, and storms raged over the surface of her waters, the sea continued to be the sea. It is astonishing to note how India continued successfully this process of assimilation and adaptation. It could only have done so if the idea of a fundamental unity were so deep-rooted as to be accepted even by the newcomer, and if her culture were flexible and adaptable to changing conditions.

Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India* refers to what I have in mind: India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour language, dress, manners and sect. And Sir Frederick white in *The Features of East and West* also stresses this unity. As regards the culture of India, Jawaharlal says:

"The real struggle in India to-day is not between Hindu culture and Muslim culture, but between these two and the conquering scientific culture of modern civilisation. Those who are desirous of preserving 'Muslim culture,' whatever that may be, need not worry about Hindu culture, but should withstand the giant from the west. I have no doubt personally that all efforts of Hindu-Muslim to oppose modern scientific and industrial civilisation are doomed to failure and I shall watch this failure without regret. Our choice was unconsciously and unvoluntarily made when railways and the like came here. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan made his choice on behalf of the Indian Muslims when he started the Aligarh College. But none of us had really any choice in the matter, except the choice which a drowning man has to clutch at something which might save him."

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"So also the ideas of Hindu and Muslim 'culture.' The day of even national cultures is rapidly passing and the world becoming one cultural unit. Nations may retain and will retain for a long time much that is popular to them—language, habits, ways of thoughts, etc.—but the machine and science, with swift travel, constant supply of world news, radio, etc., will make them more and more uniform. No one can fight against the inevitable tendency and only a world catastrophe which shatters modern civilisation can really check it. There are certainly many differences between traditional Hindu and Muslim philosophies of life. But these differences are hardly noticeable when both of them are compared to the modern scientific and industrial outlook." (*My Autobiography*, p. 259.)

Here we find that Jawaharlal Nehru is intentionally betraying our culture.

As regard the problems of land and labour Jawaharlal says in his antobiography;

"I listened to their innumerable tales of sorrow, their crushing and ever growing burden of rent, illegal exactions—ejectments from land and mud hut, beating; surrounded on all sides by vultures who preyed on them—*Zemindar's* agents, money-lenders, police; toiling all day to find that what they produced was not theirs and their reward was kicks and curses, and a hungry stomach. Many of those who were present were landless people who had been elected by the land lords and had no land or hut to fall back upon. The land was rich but the burden on it was very heavy, the holdings were small and there were too many people after them. Taking advantage of this hunger the landlords, unable under the law to enhance their rents beyond a certain percentage charge huge illgal premiums. The tenant knowing of no other alternative borrowed money from the money-lender and paid the premium and then unable to pay his debt or even the rent was ejected and lost all he had.

In *India and The World* he says:

"India means peasantry and labour and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants, will succeed in our task.

"We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food. To-day the abundance that the land produced is not for the peasant or the labourer who works on it; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionaries. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividend, the mud huts and howels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

"Our economic programme must, therefore, be based on a humane outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable

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him to live in moderate comfort and human hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendation. I hope the Congress will also do so, and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further that it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis (pp. 29-30).

"Fundamentally we have to face the land problem, and the problem of unemployment which is connected with it. I think that nothing short of large scale collectivist or co-operative farming will deal effectively with the land question. These wretched small holdings will then disappear. Production will greatly increase and many other benefits will follow but unemployment would not be affected thereby. In fact, by scientific farming it is possible that unemployment might even increase a little, as far as direct employment on the land is concerned, though indirectly other avenues of employment would be opened up. In order to provide employment we must absorb people in industrial development, in cottage industries, in big machine industries, and in the enormous developments of the social services, such as education, hygeine and sanitation. There are practically no social services in India today. The development of industry and the land would have to be planned as a whole; it cannot be dealt with in sections. If one tries to tackle one part, one finds something left over which one cannot provide for. The whole basis should be, in my opinion, not the profit motive but producing for consumption, because if we produce for profit, the result is that we simply glut the markets; we cannot sell the goods, because people have no money with which to buy them and so we get over-production while at the same time many people have nothing at all. We should organise on the socialist basis heavy industries and cottage industries. The cottage industries must not be such as would be likely to conflict with big industries because then they would collapse, but I think there will be plenty of room for the growth of cottage industries for a long time to come, simultaneously with the growth of big industries. If big industries are not developed on capitalist basis, they will deal with the essentials which are required and there will be no needless waste to energy. If all these things are taken together, I imagine we might go a little way towards the solution of the various problems that confront us. I cannot see any movement in that direction under present conditions." *India and the World*, (pp. 256-258.)

"India's freedom affects each one of us intimately and we are apt to look upon it as a thing apart and unconneted with world events. Essentially, this is an economic struggle, with hunger and want as driving forces, although it puts on nationalist and other dresses. India's immediate goal can therefore only be considered in terms of the ending of the

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exploitation of her people. Politically, it must mean independence and the severance of the British connection, which means imperialist dominion; economically and socially it must mean the ending of the special class privileges and vested interests. This can only be done by the divesting of the great vested interest in India. A mere process of changing officials of 'Indianisation' as it is called, of giving a high office to an Indian instead of an Englishman, has no interest whatever for us. It is the system which exploits the masses of India that we object to and which must go before any effective relief comes to the masses." *Recent Essays and Writings.*

"Where there is a foreign Government of an authoritarian type it does not attract the better type of person. There is moral degradation of a vast number of people, official or non-official. According to the Woodhead Commission's report, black marketeers made a rift of Rs. 1,000 for each of the 15,00,000 people who died during the Bengal famine. It passes one's comprehension how anybody can be so inhuman and callous. I do not kill even a small insect but it would give me the greatest pleasure if all the big profiteers concerned were hung by neck till they were dead."

Jawaharlal only spoke thus on June 22, 1945. But he never punished the black marketeers. He was rather shielding most of them.

Jawaharlal Nehru did his best for promoting Rural Reconstruction.

To increase the production of grain, the villagers were taught new methods of cultivating, manuring and ploughing their fields. Ploughing by tractors or machine ploughs was introduced. It considerably stepped up production. He created agricultural farms from which the villagers can get their supply of better and healthy seeds, and from time to time receive instructions as to how to keep their cattle healthy and their crops free from diseases. Cow dung was no more allowed to be wasted but used as manure to increase the fertility of the soil. As a result of these measures, grain production in 1957 was in excess of that in 1956 by 45 lakh tons.

A new plan came out of the Central Ministry of Community Development which produced a great change in our villages. Under this scheme, knowledge of better farming methods was carried to every village and every peasant family at negligible cost. Each Block Development Officer called for two days 40 or 50 farmers from a group of 8 to 10 villages in charge of a village worker and had his technical staff speak to them about agriculture, animal husbandary and allied topics. The audience was invited to ask questions which the staff did their best to answer.

Formerly, most of our villages were cut off from big towns or cities for want of good roads. Under the Community Development Projects, villagers had themselves built better roads to carry their produce easily and cheaply to big markets. Some of the villages were connected by rail with distant towns. In most of the villages streets were lighted up as a result of a large power development programme undertaken under the First

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Five-Year Plan. With the establishment of hydro-electric projects and diesal stations all over the country, nearly 4,000 small towns and villages were electrified. For instance the number of these towns and villages was as follows: 476 in Andhra; 14 in Assam; 360 in Bihar; 185 in Bombay-Karnatak region; 235 in Madhya Pradesh; 1930 in Madras; 48 in Orissa; 250 in the Punjab; 130 in Uttar Pradesh; 60 in West Bengal. In the Second Five-Year Plan many more thousands were electrified as there were many schemes and projects in hand for the rural areas, awaiting completion. For instance, there was a scheme announced by the Delhi Electricity Board for the electrification of rural Delhi. Under this scheme 52 villages around Delhi were electrified at a cost of Rs. 22.75 lakhs. Construction of 11 K.V. lines for the supply of electricity of Narela, Najafgarh, Palam, Badarpur and Shahdra were taken in hand.

Radio sets had been set up in *Panchayat Ghars* for the edification or delectation of the villagers. Village programmes were daily on the air from the various stations of the All India Radio. Through these programmes, villagers were given the news of the day, the fluctuation of prices and the knowledge of the outside markets, and some advice as to how the rise and fall of prices in those markets affected them. The village broadcasts gave information regarding weather related to crops grown in different parts of India. Along with these, popular music and songs and dramatic discourses were a regular feature of the village programme.

In keeping with the democratic trends of times, our villages are self-governing units. This is because *Gram Panchayats* have been working very satisfactorily so much so that they have proved themselves successfull beyond the fondest dreams of anybody. These *Panchayats* look after education, health and law and order in the villages. In some States, these functions have been extended so that these *Panchayats* are already associated with the work of consolidation of holdings. In Bihar, for instance, *Panchayats* have been associated with land reform management after the abolition of *Zamindari*. Rent collection work and settlement of disputes in regard to ejectment of tenants have also been assigned to a number of *Panchayats* in Bihar. The Government of Bihar has set up a Board of Conciliation of which the *Sarpanch* is the chairman. Secretaries of *Panchayats* are being trained in revenue matters. It seems that Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest benefactor of our villagers but our capitalists alone were benefited by him.

Emboldened by the success of the working of these *Panchayats* in India, the framers of our Second Five-Year Plan had made certain recommendations foreshadowing further extension of the functions to be performed by our village *Panchayats* all over the country.

According to these recommendations the framers held that village *Panchayats* were suitable agencies for the implementation of measures for the determination of the extent of land to be alloted to owners and tenants, determination of surplus land on the application of ceilings to agricultural holdings, redistribution of surplus lands, better land manage-

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ment practices and co-operative farming. All these involved maintenance of correct and up-to-date land record, carrying up-to-date land surveys and revenue records, fixation of revenue rates and other connected matters. The *Panchayats* play a useful part in the building up of high standards of management and efficiency and in accelerating the progress of consolidation of holdings. They can take an effective part in the settlement of disputes relating to ejectment of tenants, arrears of land revenue, restoration of tenancy and ejectment of tresspassers.

The table below gives index figures for agricultural production since independence:

Index Numbers of Agricultural Production in India (Agricultural Year 1949-50—100).

Commodity	*1947-48*	*1951-52*	*1955-56*	*1956-57*
Rice		90.1	112.7	118.1
Wheat		93.9	130.5	138.1
Total cereals	98.2	91.2	113.7	119.4
Total pulses	97.8	90.3	112.3	130.9
Total foodgrains	98.1	91.1	113.5	119.6
Total oilseeds	101.5	97.4	100.2	115.9
Cotton		119.2	151.2	170.3
Jute		151.4	135.7	136.5
Total Fibres	73.2	128.3	148.3	168.9
Total Plantation Crops	94.6	109.4	118.5	120.2
Sugarcane		122.8	121.2	136.7
Total miscellaneous	116.6	114.6	120.6	139.5
Total non-foodgrains	101.5	110.5	130.7	129.8
All commodities	99.2	97.5	115.9	133.0

The index number for all agricultural commodities in 1956-57 was 123 (base year 1949-50—100), compared with 99.2 in 1947-48 showing a rise of about 23.8 points. Similarly the index numbers for cereals, fibres, foodgrains, oilseeds, pulses, plantation crops and non-foodgrains also rose in the period 1947-48 and 1956-57—the range varying from 21.5 points in foodgrains to 14.4 points in oilseeds and 95.7 points in fibres.

Moreover there was a marked rise in the production of both food and cash crops in 1956-57, compared with 1955-56, three commodities, namely, wheat, rice and sugar having set up all-time records.

The production of wheat in 1956-57 rose from 8.6 million tons in 1956-57 to 9.7 million tons in 1956-57. The production of rice also increased from 26.8 million tons to 28.1 million tons. Two major cash crops, sugarcane and cotton, showed a substantial rise. In 1956-57, sugar production was 20.21 lakh tons, against 11 lakh tons in 1946-47, production

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of cotton bales was more than double that of 1947-48—the figures for 1947-48 and 1956-57 being 21.9 and 47.2 lakh bales respectively.

The Community Development and National Extension Services programmes covered about 150 million people living in 172,756 villages in 2,110 blocks.

The psychological change in the outlook of the people was reflected in the ready and willing and even eager co-operation offered by them to participate in the various tasks in the process of uplifting rural life.

In fact, the peoples contribution in cash, kind and labour was assessed at Rs. 41.37 crores as against Rs. 70.45 crores spent by the Government.

The return on this total investment of Rs. 111.82 crores in statistical terms, made impressive reading. The area reclaimed totalled 2,029,000 acres and the additional area brought under irrigation came to 3,549,000 acres. The distribution of fertilisers amounted to 18,697,000 maunds and improved seeds 8,837,000 maunds. The number of agricultural demonstrations held was 2,946,000.

Vegetable and fruit cultivation on an increasing measure was stated to have brought about a perceptible change in the diet habits of the people. The area brought under fruit cultivation was 282,000 acres and that under vegetable 661,000 acres.

Improvement in the livestock position was made possible by opening artificial insemination and breeding centres in 5,028 key villages. The number of pedigree animal supplied was 25,000 and of pedigree birds 384,000.

In the important field of communications, the length of pucca roads constructed totalled 8,814 miles and kutcha roads 56,000 miles. About 51,000 miles of kutcha roads were improved.

Achievements in the educational field included the opening of 22,000 new schools, while ordinary schools converted into basic type numbered 9,425. About 1,687,000 adults were made literate at 63,000 centres. Community recreation centres and libraries were started at 138,000 places.

An index of the amount of interest shown by the public in health problems was the number of primary health centres opened, being 2,702 besides 1,214 maternity and child welfare centres. Medicine chests provided in each village level worker's circle were stated to have become quite popular. The number of public conveniences constructed was 196,000 and 11 million yards of drainage. Drinking water wells constructed numbered 72,000 and the number of wells renovated was 103,000.

Apart from 20,993 model houses, 123,000 other houses were constructed and improvements were made to 204,000 existing ones.

The development of cottage and small-scale industries provided partial employment for 642,000 and full employment to 209,000. The number of demonstration-cum-training centres started was 2,982.

New members enrolled in co-operative societies numbered 2,936,000 and the number of societies was 53,000. The number of Panchayats started was 46,000 whereas non-statutory bodies like village councils,

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vikas mandals, youth clubs, farmers' unions, mahila samitis and the like was 155,000. As many as 76,000 A.C.C. and N.C.C. cadets participated in the summer camps and the students who attended them numbered 177,000.

Steps were taken to attain higher production and extension of irrigation facilities, large use of fertilizers and manures, supply of improved seeds from various agricultural farms, adoption of improved methods of cultivation and utilization of development and co-operative agencies like N.E.C, (National Extension Service) and Community Projects.

Inaugurating the second all-India Convention of the Youth Congress in Lucknow on October 27,1957, Shri Nehru said : "India lives in villages and you are to spread out to villages, as India will progress only if the villages prospered. You are to bear the brunt of the battle for reconstructing the edifice of a prosperous India in the near future."

The first ten years of India's freedom were very significant. Since independence, India took rapid strides in the industrial field. The record of India's industrial development was very impressive.

The production of mill-made cotton textiles increased from 3,760 million yards in 1947 to 5,300 million yards in 1957. The output of sugar went up from 10.75 lakh tons to about 20 lakh tons; of Vanaspati from 25,000 tons to 2,56,000 tons, of bicycles from 43,000 to 6,25,000; of sewing machines from a mere 6,000 to 1,35,000.

What constituted another vital feature of the industrial progress since 1947 was the significant contribution made to the growth of the new important industries in the engineering and chemical field.

The industries included in this group are: the two locomotive works—the Government owned Chittaranjan and Felco Works (private) ; the automobile industry ; the Sindri Fertiliser Factory ; the modern oil refineries ; a large number of steel structural works ; the railway coach factory and a number of privately owned wagon-building plants ; the Hindustan Shipyard and the Hindustan Machine Tools Works ; a workshop of the Hind Flying Club at Kanpur for the manufacture of gliders and componant parts of training aircrafts; a number of units for manufacturing basic chemicals. A micanite factory was set up at Jhumritilaya in Bihar, the first of its kind in Asia, with the help of German experts to produce 300 tons of micanite per year at the initial stage. One-tenth of the production was expected to be consumed in India and the rest was exported. India being the biggest mica producing country in the world, it is very necessary that India should hold an important position in the world market, and in this regard, the mica factory is of great help.

The output of machinery in 1956 was estimated to be of the value of Rs. 23 crores. The production in 1947 in this field was not worth mentioning. The following figures of production deserve attention:

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Items	*1947*	*1956*
Diesel engines	700	12,000
Power driven Pumps	6,000	46,000
Electric Motors	38,000 H.P.	3,58,000 HP.
Sulphuric Acid	60,000 Tons	1,65,000 Tons
Caustic Soda	3,000 ,,	39,000 ,,
Soda Ash	12,000 ,,	84,000 ,,
Ammonium Sulphate	21,000 ,,	3,38,000 ,,
Super Phosphate	8,000 ,,	81,000 ,,
Coal	30 mil. tons	39 mil. tons
Steel	89 lakh tons	132 lakh tons
Cement	14 lakh tons	49 lakh tons

More interesting from the point of view of technical advancement was another venture—the development of heavy machinery industry which the country was about to launch.

The Factories Act of 1948, the Plantations Act of 1951 and the Mines Act of 1952 have aimed at improving the conditions of work of labour by fixing minimum hours of work and weekly rest for the adults, women and children, and by providing adequate measures for the health, safety and welfare of workers. Rules were framed under the Mines Act to provide for special measures to prevent, as also deal with, accidents in mines. As regards coal mines, the Government of India recently revised the regulations with a view to ensuring better safety. The Plantations Labour Act provides for payment of sickness and maternity benefits and leave with pay.

The Government of India also drew up a model bill for the regulation of conditions of work in shops and commercial establisnments. This bill was forwarded to the State Governments so that the existing State laws on the subject might be modified on the same lines. Recently, the working journalists were given statutory protection in respect of their hours of work, leave, gratuity, etc.

Besides, special welfare funds were constituted in the coal mica mining industries for the purpose of providing additional welfare facilities to workers. One of the principal activities of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Organisation is provision of medical facilities which is being achieved through the construction of a number of central and regional hospitals, reservation of beds in general hospitals, maintenence of maternity homes, dispensaries and mobile vans and payment of grants to dispensary services provided by the colliery owners. The Organisation has also undertaken extensive anti-TB and anti-Malaria measures.

Over 2,150 houses were built directly by the Organisation for colliery workers. Another 2,800 houses have been built by colliery owners with assistance given from the Fund. Subsidies at liberal rates were being paid

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to colliery owners for this purpose.

In 1952, Government introduced the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme. It provides for the building of houses for industrial workers through the agency of State Governments, statutory housing boards, employers and co-operative house building societies of workers. Financial assistance for building the houses is given by the Central Government in the form of subsidies and loans. About 63,000 tenements were completed and 15,000 tenements were at various stages of construction at the end of August, 1957. There were other housing projects also. Whenever a decision to set up an industry in the public sector was taken, priority was given to the construction of a township where workers could live in some comfort. The Indian Railways built 40,000 new quarters for workmen during the First Plan period.

The first piece of social insurance legislation in India, the Employees' State Insurance Act, was enacted immediately after independence in 1948. It provides benefits during contingencies like sickness, maternity, disablement or death through employment injuries. Benefits are available in cash as well as in the shape of medical assistance. An Employees' State Insurance Corporation has been set up to implement the scheme which has already been extended to practically all the important industrial centres in the country. Over 12 lakhs of workers, which is about half of the total insurable population, are now getting the benefit of the scheme.

Provision for an industrial worker during retirement or old age and for his dependents in the event of his untimely death was made by the enactment of legislation for compulsory institution of contributory provident funds. The Employees' Provident Funds Act, which was passed in 1952, now applies to 26 industries, five classes of plantations including coffee, four categories of mines and newspaper establishments, benefiting about 24 lakhs of workers. In addition, there was the Coal Mines Provident Fund which has a membership of 3.33 lakhs of colliery workers. The total accumulations in the Fund till the end of August 1957 were about Rs. 10 crores.

This was achieved largely through agreements and awards given under the Industrial Disputes Act. The government throughout pursued the policy of encouraging agreements and of referring disputes to adjudication, where considered necessary. The agreement on payment of bonus to plantation workers reached mainly at the instance of Government, the Bank Award and the Coal Award are some of the important instances in recent times. The earnings of workers in these industries were considerably augmented as a result of these agreements and awards.

The Minimum Wages Act was passed in 1948 to regulate wages in a number of scheduled employments including *beedi* making, carpet making, weaving, stone crushing, building operations, plantations and agriculture. Minimum rates of wages were fixed in all these employments except agriculture. Even in respect of agricultural workers, minimum rates were prescribed in a number of States. The Minimum Wages Act was amended to

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enable some States which were not able to fix minimum wage rates to do so by the end of 1959.

Besides, a wage board for the cotton textile industry was set up. The establishment of wage boards for the sugar and cement industries was also under consideration.

Suitable machinery for prevention and settlement of disputes was provided through the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. Bipartite works committees were set up at the factory level with a Joint Consultative Board at the national level. A number of tripartite consultative bodies have also been set up at the national and industry levels.

The Government of India set up a National Productivity Centre at Bombay, with the assistance of I.L.O. experts. Productivity projects undertaken by the Centre in the engineering industries at Bombay and Bangalore yielded promising results.

But no programme for increasing productivity or development was entirely successful.

The reason was that Jawaharlal Nehru did not follow the industrial policy laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. We can safely say that Nehru was betraying us as he was following the Western people in this field.

Nehru also believed that the economic progress of a country is a continuous process; and in this process, tradition should not stand in the way. At one time Pt. Nehru said: "Nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage, but nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its ancestors; what builds a nation is a creative, inventive and vital activity". But this does not mean that he was opposed to India's past. He was fully aware of the debt that he owed to the heritage of India. In his Testament, he writes: "And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, suppress vast numbers of them, and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit, though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from the past completely. I am proud of the great inheritance that she has, and is ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in the unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India. That chain I would not break, for I treasure and seek inspiration from it".

A number of times Nehru stressed that discipline is the sorely needed quality of free India. It is the duty of the nation to strengthen and preserve its freedom. This is regarded as the one criterion to judge every other activity. Hence his remark: "Political integration has already taken place to some extent, but what I am after is something much deeper than that—an emotional integration of the Indian people so that we might be welded into one, and made into one strong national unit, maintaining at the same time all our wonderful diversity. I do not want this diversity to

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be regimented and taken away, but we must be wary of losing ourselves in petty quarrels."

Regarding secularism, he maintained that it does not mean irreligion but respect for all, and equal opportunity for all.

"The main objectives of India's foreign policy are: the pursuit of peace not through alignment with any major power or group of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issues; liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population". This sentence embodies the essentials of his internationalism. But the sentence should not be construed to mean that Nehru advocated a passive attitude. Hence his famous comment: "Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."

He firmly believed that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere would end in a global war. Naturally, he championed the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples. All through his life he maintained that peace is essential. At one time he even claimed that each of the ancient hymns of India ends with the word *shanti*, that is, peace. And his partiality toward Asia and Africa was natural. "If there is anything that Asia wants to tell the world, it is that there is going to be no dictation in the future. There will be no yes-men in Asia nor Africa, I hope. We had enough of them in the past."

All the time Nehru kept in view the broad principles according to which he thought that India should progress. The result was that he often lost sight of the details, and at times, he even ignored the pressing needs of the day. For example, in his pursuit of socialism, he did not pay much attention to the complaints against persons like Kairon, Patnaik and such others. At times he was hasty in his remarks. When Koirala was arrested, Nehru commented in the parliament that it was a setback to democracy. This comment was unwarranted because Nepal is an independent country. One can safely say that Nehru failed to foresee the Chinese threat; and his expectations when he introduced China at the Bandung Conference, proved to be false. He very often expressed his desire against linguistic states, but time and again he retracted from his decisions. He was forced to accept the formation of new Indian states on linguistic basis.

Separatist tendencies continued on in India—the linguistic controversies raged fiercely and the D.M.K. of Madras went to the extent of demanding a separate state; the separatist demands of the Akalis, the revolt of the Nagas and the demand of the Jharkhand Party were enough headaches; often he attacked the virulent role of casteism in the Congress Party: states continued to scramble for the water of the rivers and for a few acres of land on their borders; and the rift between economic classes continued.

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The image that he built of India in the eyes of the world, was dashed to the ground by the Chinese aggression in 1962.

All through his life, particularly after independence, he talked about socialism but no one in India is clear about what exactly socialism stands for. Even though some amount of clarification was given at the Bhubaneswar Session of the Indian National Congress, the concept of socialism hangs in the air.

Even the economic development of the country has not given any confidence to the people of India. The food crisis that arose immediately after his death was a significant foot-note to the Nehru era.

Nehru failed to create a symbol because the people of the country are not inspired by any goal. No one is sure about the future, to whatever class he might belong. Unless and until the people have an image or a vision of India which can inspire them, we cannot say that the country has become dynamic. The symbol might be only a myth but the people should be inspired by the future. Nehru woefully failed to create this idea. Nehru is more like a person who agitated the minds of the people, but left them without any vision. He somewhat resembles Dr. Sun Yat Sen, (the father of Nationalist Revolt in China in 1911) who kept before himself the ideals of democracy and socialism. Without realising them, he died in 1924. The failure of Nehru to create an effective symbol for India is realised by all the political parties in India.

Nehru could not electrify the masses into such an enthusiasm that they could pursue the same path laid down by him even after his death. But he did awaken the people of India from their slumber—a Rip Van Winkle on the millennial scale. For example, we cannot afford to abandon planning, nor can we afford to ignore socialism. Hence, it is said that in economic matters we are riding a tiger and there is no getting down from it.

In spite of the humiliation suffered by India at the hands of China, we cannot dispute the name gained by India in international affairs. No longer Westerners can regard India as a land of snake charmers and maharajas. The image of India today is definitely different. One may say that Nehru was a living bundle of Blunders. Others will opine that he was man of wonders.

Under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru India won a very respectable place in the field of international politics. This is no mean tribute to the success of Jawahar Lal Nehru's foreign policy. Some people liked it and others did not. But Nehru's foreign policy came to stay for over.

Indians were able to develop a sound international outlook when they were struggling hard for their national independence.

With the Japanese aggression in Manchuria and with the rise of Hitler in Germany the international situation underwent an important change. The League of Nations did not take any effective step to counteract the Japanese intervention in Manchuria. Japan was thus encouraged to commit further aggression against China. India declared her sympathy towards the victims of aggression and sent abroad medical teams of Indian

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doctors as gestures of her goodwill. Subhas Chandra Bose and some other leaders did not approve of any step being taken by the Indian National Congress which would antagonize Japan, Italy or Germany. In this connection Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote thus in the his *Discovery of India*. "It is surprising how international-minded we grew in spite of our intense nationalism."

On September 14th, 1939, the Congress surveyed the international situation and came to this conclusion:—"If the war is to defend the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, India can have nothing to do with it. If however, the issue is democracy and a world-order based on democracy, India is intensely interested in it. . .If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions. . .A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free actions for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world-order based on freedom and democracy, utilizing the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity."

The greatest and the most marvellous result of the Divine Spirit of India was that in August 1946, the British Government agreed to instal an interim Government under the expert guidance of Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru. This signified an important change in India's status in world affairs. Delegates appointed by the Interim Government took an independent attitude in the United Nations on several issues without any reference to British views on those matters.

The country was partitioned on 15th August, 1947. The British influence was withdrawn peacefully from the Indian sub-continent and two independent countries—India and Pakistan—came into existence. India retained her international personality in the United Nations and in other international bodies while Pakistan was asked to seek fresh admission as a new member to the comity of nations.

After achieving freedom most of the people of India wanted to cut off relations with the British Empire. On this point Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote in his *Discovery of India*, "India could not be a mere hanger-on of any country or group of nations, her freedom and growth would make a vital difference to Asia and therefore to the world. That led inevitably to the conception of full independence and a severance of the bonds that tied her to England and her empire."

After proclaimed herself to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic, India decided to stay in the Commonwealth of Nations to show her friendly relations with the United Kingdom. Prime Minister Nehru managed to see that the Commonwealth was no longer 'British' in character or in wording. It became a voluntary association of the sovereign communities. Jawahar Lal Nehru moved in such a way that India's connection with the Commonwealth could be renounced at will.

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The socio-economic outlook of the politicians in England and India persuaded the Indian Government to retain the ties of Commonwealth relationship. India was financially and commercially connected in a closer way with the Commonwealth countries. Common adoption of parliamentary institutions in their systems of government was also an affinity between India and Commonwealth countries. India was a newcomer in world affairs and wanted to avoid complete isolation. The political landscape in Asia was in the melting pot and lacked stability. Republic of India could not expect the collaboration of communist states because according to Marxist standard India was a mediore democracy. The U.S.A. had emerged after World War II as a colossus of great importance but the nascent Republic of India was bound to suspect the diplomatic aims of this Great Power in view of the pretensions for global leadership. In these circumstances the choice of Jawahar Lal Nehru fell on preserving the Commonwealth relationship and thus making the virtue of an evil necessity. There was a divergence in the international outlook of Jawaharlal Nehru and that of the Government of U.K. The latter was continuously supporting India's adversaries in all major disputes in which India was an interested party both inside and outside the United Nations. India refused to participate in the anti-Soviet combinations of the Anglo-American group of nations. Other Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia or New Zealand were full-fledged members of either the N.A.T.O. or the S.E.A.T.O. They shared a common outlook with U.K., South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon. They had shown an equal readiness to join the anti-Soviet alliances of the Western Powers. Moreover these states had developed some important disputes with India. U.K. was persistantly encouraging these small nations to take an attitude of non-compromise on all the major aspects of their disputes with India. The attitude adopted by British politicians made it clear that U.K. was not a friend of India. Look at Nehru. He was a friend of all nations. He never learnt to be a foe in spite of the grave provocations from the other side. It shows Nehru's sincere desire to practise the principles of peaceful co-existence inside the Commonwealth.

The case of Kashmere has for long been a cause of strained relations between India and Pakistan. Tribal raiders from the North Western Frontier of Western Pakistan and Pakistani troops attacked Kashmere. It had acceded to India legally and constitutionally. India appealed to the United Nations on January 1, 1948 against Pakistan's aggression in Kashmere. Sir Owen Dixon, observer of the United Nations testified to the Pak aggression. Even then the United Nations under the influence of U.K. and U.S.A., failed to recognize the fact of aggression in Kashmere and refused to condemn Pakistan for this great aggression. India was betrayed by the U.N. However a cease-fire was accepted by both sides after some time and since then the truce-line in Kashmere became an international boundary between India and Pakistan. India promised that the final accession of Kashmere would be decided by a plebiscite of the

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people of Kashmere provided Pakistan withdrew her troops from there. Pakistan did not do so. Naturally India was not bound by her commitment which was made with a proviso. With a view to take undue advantage of that conditional commitment Pakistan went on demanding a plebiscite in Kashmere on its own terms. For their own strategic reasons U.K. and U.S.A. supported Pakistan and betrayed India.

With the announcement of U.S. military aid to Pakistan, the friendly relations between India and Pakistan further deteriorated. As a full-fledged member of the S.E.A.T.O. Pakistan agreed to make a complete identification of her foreign policy with the foreign policies of U.S.A. and U.K. It was legitimately feared that Pakistan's motive in joining the Anglo-American group of nations was to secure the support of United Kingdom and U.S.A. in her disputes with India. Pakistan refused to sign a no-war declaration with India. This very fact shows that Pakistan's policy in relation to India was not entirely pacific. India's policy of non-alignment with any power block in international affairs was the only reason for her isolation. In world affairs of today U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon are irrevocably committed to the anti-communist policy of United States. Ceylon allowed the retaining of British naval bases on Ceylonese territory. She consistently maintained a pro-western orientation in her foreign policy. Pakistan was also gradually drifting towards the acceptance of western positions.

After independence, India was primarily interested in her economic development and for this reason she could not take part in the cold war which was being waged by U.K. and U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. Naturally India followed a policy of non-alignment which U.S.A. had to adopt after her freedom and which was followed by the American people for more than a century.

India's policy of neutrality was very much misunderstood in U.S.A. Nehru's socialistic leanings were wrongly interpretted as sympathy for the social and political doctrines of Soviet Communism. It was not realized in the U.S.A. that Nehru believed in evolutionary socialism and that he was deadly opposed to violent revolutionary communism. Nehru's policy towards China showed how pacific he was.

Nehru may well be Ashoka and Ashoka might well have been Nehru. There are sweet similarities between the two. Both of them discourage war after achieving victory. It may be hot or cold, they do not seem to favour it. Both are ardent advocates of peace and prosperity. Ashoka was very firm in following the Great Master Mahatma Buddha and so was Nehru in following Mahatma Gandhi. Ashoka did his best for the poor and the down-trodden. Nehru also took up the cause of the distressed and the depressed.

Jawaharlal Nehru was born with a silver spoon in his mouth but he exchanged it for one made of stainless steel. His father Motilal Nehru was a lord of luxury but Jawaharlal did not like a luxurious life. He gave

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up his bed of roses and along with his poor country-men he chose to lie on a bed of thorns and dragged his father also to the thorny path of patriotism. The son joined the fight for freedom first and the old father followed. There was a time when the father and the son were on opposite sides of the battle. They often had a difference of opinion but it never embittered their heart, or home.

"Live dangerously" was the very gist of Jawaharlal's life. "Safe sailors can make no progress in life"—this is how he believed. Progress, for him, meant capacity to make great risks in personal and national life. *Aaraam haraam hai,* said Nehru. In other words resting was rusting for him.

Nehru's administrative ability surprised many great politicians of the world. His policy of non-alignment proved to be the best for India. Under his expert guidance India's stock of goodwill rose high to the seventh heaven. As a man of power and austerity he was an Angel-Politician.

The halo of divinity around Nehru's face manifested his spiritualism.

"Our people are determined to live up to the teachings of the Father of the Nation, Mr. Gandhi, who exhorted us to aim high for the peace and good of mankind and to endeavour to achieve that purpose by pacific and moral means."

This is how Jawaharlal replied to the messages received on the Republic Day from far and wide. His reply sums up the foreign policy of India in the best and briefest possible words.

As Prime Minister of India Nehru was the dominant figure at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference held at Colombo in 1950. He took a leading part in the discussions at the Conference table. He made a profound impression on the delegations from all countries. The senior delegate from Canada said:

"We are all proud of Nehru."

Pandit Nehru was described by the Colombo Press as the Idol of Asia. One paper declared that it was through the efforts of Jawaharlal that both India and Ceylon were free.

Pandit Nehru said about the Commonwealth Conference:

"We are evolving something that is important, something that is new, a kind of invisible link that is more endurable, than a visible binding link. Under a visible link one always feels its pressure, but not so with the invisible link."

At the Colombo Conference Pandit Nehru supported a quick settlement of the Japanese issue under conditions that will allow Japan's economic rehabilitation, political self-determination, and an early withdrawal of occupation forces.

About Kashmir Pandit Nehru stated in his press conference on Jaunary 6, 1950 at Delhi that India will not accept arbitration.

"You cannot ask," he said, "any individual, however great he may be, to decide the fate of four million people."

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About Tibet Pandit Nehru opined India should stick to the British policy about Tibet in India. India will acknowledge the autonomy of Tibet while acknowledging the suzerainty of China over Tibet.

About the reunion of India and Pakistan, Pandit Nehru had stated his policy in the clearest terms:

"I wish to make it perfectly clear that there is no question of Pakistan coming back to India. If India has her great and difficult problems to tackle, Pakistan is faced with even greater and more difficult problems to solve.

"We shall be adding to our difficulties if any one in India talks of bringing back Pakistan to India."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's view that war should be ruled out between India and Pakistan was communicated to Pakistan in specific terms, but Liaquat Ali Khan did not accept the formula.

Pandit Nehru thought that the problems of Asia were economic rather than political. Even in China the economy that was set up was very far from Communism. In India also the state control was making inroads and Red China was no better.

"India," he said, "cannot follow such a policy. It ultimately hampered the progress of the nation by restricting the creative faculties of the common man."

Pandit Nehru maintained that liberty has little meaning in a society where poverty is rampant.

"The poor man is free in legal phraseology but has no opportunities for progress and could not very much influence the decision of the Government. To call such a state of affairs as democracy and liberty is a mockery."

Pandit Nehru wanted that India should emulate Japan. Japan, he said, has made tremendous progress in spite of the havoc caused by the last war. Despite foreign control and other obstacles the Japanese have taken great strides in the field of reconstruction. Even Hiroshima which had been totally destroyed by the bombs, has been rebuilt. All this has been accomplished owing to the strong will of the Japanese people. In India, due to the legacy of the British rule, there is a tendency to avoid work.

"Out social order does not have much respect for the human personality. The crores of people in the country can be bought or hired to do your bidding. We respect people who do not work. If we had respect for human personality we would not think of getting things done by servants but do them ourselves."

"The happy solution," said Pandit Nehru, "of our problem of India and of the United Kingdom might well we tried as a good example for others and applied to other problems."

In his address to the American Parliament Pandit Nehru defined the objectives of our foreign policy as the preservation of world peace and the enlargement of human freedom.

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"Where freedom is menaced" he said, "or justice theatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."

To the more specific question put to him by the curious journalists in New York, Pandit Nehru frankly stated that India had no intention to committing herself to any side in the cold war between the East and the West. He clearly stated that India did not expect any danger from Russia and that the Indian people were not unnerved with the news that Russia possessed the atomic bomb.

"Basically and absolutely," Pandit Nehru said, "we intend to follow democratic method and follow a policy of peace."

India under Jawaharlal was following not a passive neutrality but a dynamic one, and was determined to play her role in the preservation of international peace.

It is yet to be decided by furture historians whether Jawaharlal Nehru had turned India into a land of wonders or he had created for us a land of strange and queer blunders.

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9 *Indo-Pak Conflict*

Pakistan started the 1965 hostilities. This fact was already confirmed by Gen. Nimmo, the Chief U.N. Military Observer in Kashmir. It was really a matter of great regret that this fact was not recognized by the Security Council.

Pakistan's aims could be easily seen from the three conditions for a cease-fire which were presented to U. Thant in Rawalpindi. They were:

(1) India should be forced to withdraw her forces from the whole of Kashmir;

(2) a plebiscite should be held to determine Kashmir's future within three months of the cease-fire;

(3) and an Afro-Asian force of the United Nations should take care of security in Kashmir pending the plebiscite.

Pakistan's political objective was to undo Kashmir's integration with India through International diplomatic intervention.

Indian Government's policy was stated by the Defence Minister in the Lok Sabha and by the President in his national broadcast. The country was engaged in a defensive war. One objective was to demontsrate to Pakistan and indeed the world that Kashmir was now an integral part of India and that this country was not tolerating any interference with its territorial integrity. The second objective was to cripple Pakistan's capacity to commit aggression on India whenever it wished to activate the Kashmir question.

If this was a correct understanding of the Shastri Government's stand, a cease-fire could not be accepted till these limited objectives were achieved. The achievement of the first objective required that the U.N. be told in the plainest terms that the acceptance of a cease-fire could not be considered as a prelude to the reopening of the Kashmir question at some later stage.

In a broadcast to his nation on the 6th of Sept., 1965 President Ayub Khan of Pakistan announced that his country was at war with India.

The trouble began with the arrival of armed infiltrators in the valley of Jammu & Kashmir from the illegally occupied territory of the State by Pakistan. The infiltrators along with the active Pakistan soldiers in disguise opened fire on an Indian Patrolling Unit on 5th August, 1965. The raiders used two inch mortars, medium machine guns and rifles. They were assigned to kill prominent Kashmiri leaders, to blow up

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the bridges and other vital installations to cut the supply lines to our Jawans. The raiders expected to have the co-operation of the local population, predominently Muslim, who never co-operated with them and showed a wonderful loyalty to the Indian military in giving clues and helping them to round up these people.

Soon after Independence, Pakistan had backed Afridi professional robbers and raiders to invade Kashmir. These raiders were equipped with latest automatic weapons and were commanded by Pakistan regulars. They killed innocent people and destroyed and looted their properties. The people of Kashmir sought India's aid and the State acceded to India in October 1947. India came to Kashmir's rescue and the hostilities between the two countries lasted more than a year. In January 1949, with the intervention of the United Nations, a cease-fire was arranged. Under that nearly a fourth of Kashmir remained under Pakistan. The Azad Kashmir government had been propped up by Pakistan Government to rule the illegally occupied area. In the Indian side of Kashmir the Maharaja was deposed and the entire administration was handed over to the popularly elected Cabinet of Ministers. The popularly elected Kashmir Constituent Assembly on the 26th of January, 1957 unanimously gave its verdict of joining the Indian Union. Thus, Kashmir constitutionally and legally became an integral part of the the Indian Union.

When India was partitioned on 15 August, 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu & Kashmir could not make up his mind with regard to its accession either to India or Pakistan.

Pakistan decided to secure the accession by force and attacked the State with the sole purpose of coercing Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan.

Nearly 5000 tribal raiders attacked the State. The arms and ammunition were supplied by Pakistan. When the Maharaja sensed complete destruction at the hands of the raiders, he decided to accede to India on 24th October, 1947. He made an urgent appeal to the Government of India to accept Kashmir's complete and unconditional accession to India.

The Government of India agreed to the accession on the condition that when the normal conditions would prevail there would be held a 'Plebiscite or referendum to seek peoples' own approval.

The Maharaja signed the 'Instrument of Accession' and the Government of India rushed forces to Kashmir on October 27, 1947. The raiders actively supported by Pakistan had already reached the outskirts of Srinagar. Jinnah was planning to ride in triumph into Kashmir valley. All his hopes were completely shattered.

India protested in the Security Council on January 1, 1948 against Pakistani aggression. Pakistan declared that she had nothing to do with the tribal raiders. She also cast doubts on the legality of the accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India. Fighting continued. At last, on January 1,

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1949, cease-fire was brought about. But the tension between the two countries continued. Now Pakistan began to turn out its Hindu population from East Bengal.

In 1951, Pakistani forces repeatedly violated the cease-fire line and Pakistan started a poisonous war propaganda against India. India took the matter to the Security Council and protested against Pakistan's violations of the cease-fire line. Nothing concrete came out.

1953 saw U.S.-Pakistan Militray Aid Agreement. India protested to the U.S.A. advancing the argument that the aid thus given might be used against India any time but was assured by the United States of America that these arms given to Pakistan were to be used against the communist countries only. Incidentally, the Pakistani forces used these arms against India in 1965. We can easily conjecture that U.S.A. was secretly betraying India by supplying arms to Pakistan.

In January 1957, the U.N. Security Council passed resolution calling upon India not to incorporate the State into the Union of India. The main aim of the resolution was to please the West and Pakistan. Efforts by the West and Pakistani friends for demilitarising the border areas and the introduction of a Plebiscite Administrator was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

In April 1957, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the U.N. representative, visited India and submitted his report. India was not prepared to accept arbitration on the issue of Kashmir as it was not consistent with the sovereignty of Kashmir and with India's obligations to defend the State. The Jarring report pointed out that India could not undertake her commitments under the U.N. resolution till Pakistan had fulfilled her obligations under the resolution (withdrawal of Pakistani troops in Kashmir). The Kashmir issue reverted to the Security Council which passed a five-nation resolution ammended by Sweden appointing Dr. Graham to report on the Kashmir situation. India rejected the resolution.

Dr. Graham made his report in April 1958. His recommendations were that the leaders of both countries should have a declaration to create conditions conducive to peace.

Although the U.N. resolution of January 1949 spoke about a plebiscite in Kashmir, it may be noted that it had the provison about the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir. This was not honoured by Pakistan. Moreover, the passage of nearly 17 years since the resolution was passed brought about far-reaching changes in Kashmir. Pakistan while not honouring her part of the deal had brought a third party in the dispute, i.e., China. The U.N. has never recognised Pakistan's sovereignty over the occupied portion of Kashmir. India has sovereignty over the State. Thus, Pakistan routed the U.N. authority and all established principles of international behaviour by entering into an agreement about the Pakistan occupied Kashmir border with China.

India protested to the United Nations about Pakistan's border agreements with China.

Kashmir's accession to India was a settled fact for the people of

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Kashmir. India was committed to the two U.N. resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949. But India's commitment was a contingent one. She could honour them after Pakistan's honouring of the resolution. This is the basis which has been accepted by the UN Commission. They are part of the Security Council's record. While not withdrawing her forces, Pakistan was concentrating her troops on a warfooting and even disturbing the peace of our side of the border. The Commission recognised the sovereignty of the Kashmir Government over the entire State. But Pakistan bartered away a part of it which she had no business to do. Any further discussion in the world organisation could highlight Pakistan's strange behaviour on Kashmir simply because Pakistan was actually made to mar India.

Pakistan also intensified border raids on the Assam NEFA border. There were several incidents at the Lathitilla Dumabari area and in Tripura. There was large-scale infiltration of Muslims into Tripura and Assam. The minority community in East Pakistan were made to migrate to India because of insecurity of life there. Pakistan asked India to close the Indian Assistant High Commissioner's office in Rajshahi in East Pakistan. Pakistan's charge was that the Assistant High Commissioner had encouraged minority community to leave East Pakistan. This was a fantastic claim as the officer concerned was virtually kept under guard when there were communal riots in Rajshahi.

Pakistan increased her armed border violations not only in Kashmir but on all other sectors as well.

Early in January, 1965, the Indian police detected intrusion in Kutch. On February 10, Pakistani forces occupied Kanjarkot. On April 9, they forced two fully equipped battalions into the Indian territory at the Sardar Post. On April 26, they attacked the Indian border post at Biarbet.

India and Pakistan signed the Kutch Agreement on June 30. Pakistan betrayed India like China. On the one hand Pakistan was putting its signatures on the Agreement and on the other hand she was sending massive armed infiltrators across the ceasefire line in Jammu & Kashmir.

Plans for a full-scale attack on Kashmir were being finalised in Pindi. A *Mujahid* force was set up as an integral part of the Pakistan Army. The strength of this force was estimated to be 1,50,000.

On August 5, 1965, Pakistani infiltrators crossed the cease-fire line with the sole purpose of loot, arson and sabotage.

On September 1, Pakistan made its second full scale invasion of the Indian territory and crossed the international boundry at Chhamb in Jammu.

And on September 6, 1965 the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan declared in a nation-wide broadcast that 'We are at war with India.'

This is a patent fact that Pakistan was created by the British ruelrs of India with a view to make it an ever-enemy of India. The Britishers were forced by the international situation to grant full freedom to India but they never desired to see her happy and prospering. It was for this

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reason that they supported the two-nation theory and on its basis they partitioned India in 1947.

In 1965 India and Pakistan were engaged on not less than 6 fronts. These fightings ranged from (1) the Hyderabad (Sind) sector across the Barmer border of Rajasthan (2) the three thrusts in the Punjab sector (Spearheaded by columns moving roughly from Ferozepur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur), to; (3) the swing from the southern most part of Kashmir towards Sialkot, and beyond to; (4) the Pakistan-infiltrated Chhamb sector; and (5) the Uri-Poonch buldge (with we occupied on the 12th of Sept., 1965), and Tithwal consitutes the sixth line front with Kargil comparatively at rest.

The most decisive battle was fought in the Sialkot sector. Some over-enthusiasts attached much more importance to the Lahore sector. It may be mentioned here that our main objective was to draw, contain and hold the massive Pakistani defensive and counter offensive forces thrown into the battle in order to ease pressure on other fronts.

The thrust in the Sialkot sector had the desired effect. It resulted in lightening if not lifting the weight of the Pakistani offensive on Chhamb-Jaurian.

Similarly, the thrust in the Hyderabad (Sind) sector brought the desired effect in Kutch.

India's activity in the Sailkot sector gave some relief to our columns which initially moved from Ferozepur. Our forces were able to meet with unprecedented successes in Kashmir due to the fact that we moved our columns from Ferozepur and Gurdaspur, though in early stages our army suffered heavily on being immobilized due to the destruction of Dera Baba Nanak Bridge.

Though the enemy was equipped with superior planes, mobility and fire power, the daily toll taken by our boys of the IAF was superb and even spectacular. We lost many precious lives, which were far more less in number when compared with the enemy. We had to pay the price of achieving so many successes.

On September 11, 1965 President Radhakrishnan in his broadcast to the Nation made it clear that India would agree to the cease-fire proposal only if 'acts of aggression are not repeated again and again in Kashmir'.

Dr. Radhakrishnan called for a 'few moments of introspection' in this dreadful situation and said despite President Ayub Khan's declaration that Pakistan was at war with India, this country did not consider itself at war with Pakistan. "It is not our desire to hurt Pakistan to save India. There are more things which bind us together than keep us apart."

The following is the text of the President's broadcast; "I am speaking to you at this time of grave crisis—a crisis that has been forced on us. We are engaged in this conflict with deep sorrow in our hearts. We know that the way to growth is through suffering and not despair.

"President Ayub Khan of Pakistan has announced that Pakistan is at war with India. In accordance with the statement the Pakistan Air Force

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has obviously been permitted to attack our cities and not confine themselves strictly to military targets. The Pakistan Navy has also been brought into action against our port at Dwarka. But we in India do not regard ourselves as at war with Pakistan ; we have friendly feelings for the people of Pakistan and have been careful to do precisely no more than what is required to safeguard our territorial integrity. Our attacks have been confined to military installations and Pakistan troop movements.

"This conflict has been forced on us, because there has been a persistent and continuous attempt, since August 5, by Pakistan to take the law into its own hands and upset by force the legitimately established Government in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Both the United Nations Secretary General and the United Nations Military Observer Group in the area have recognized this. Confronted by the massive infiltration of armed men in disguise and some in uniform, others without, across the cease-fire line, we have done only what was necessary to round up these infiltrators and, when Pakistan refused to call off their entry into India, to prevent further infiltration.

"Then on September, 1, when it became clear that the people of Kashmir were refusing to collaborate with the infiltrators, Pakistan, as the world knows, launched a massive attack south of the ceasefire line, and across the international boundary between West Pakistan and our State of Jammu and Kashmir, with a large number of heavy tanks, supported by regular infantry units of the Pakistan Army and jet aircraft of the Pakistan Air Force. The attack was obviously intended to sever communications between Kashmir and the rest of India. Pakistan then attacked other Indian towns from the air. It therefore, became necessary for us to thwart this aggression, to strike at the bases from which this aggression was being launched and to forestall other attacks all along the border which Pakistan has been clearly planning.

"But in the midst of this tragic conflict, thrust on us by our neighbour, I wish to remind you that we should not and cannot forget our tradition, our ideals and our history. We detest war and all its horrors. Our troops have so far only fought for peace and for the defence of our land. They went to Korea, many years ago, at the behest of the United Nations, for the safeguarding of peace. They went to the Congo, again at the behest of the United Nations, to prevent the development of the conflict in the Congo into a fratricidal war.

"The campaigns of 1962 were inflicted on us by China. And, today, we are driven to battle with Pakistan—a battle not of our seeking. We have repeatedly offered to Pakistan a 'no war' declaration ; and in 1963, when we undertook to talk with the Government of Pakistan about Kashmir and other related matters, we even proposed a disengagement of troops all along the cease-fire line. But Pakistan rejected this offer. She seeks now as in 1947, to secure, by force, settlements of her choosing.

"Even now, she has declined to promise the Secretary-General of the

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United Nations, whom we shall soon have the opportunity of welcoming here, that she will respect the cease-fire line.

"We have no desire to escalate the conflict. At every stage it has been Pakistan that has taken the first step in widening the conflict. U. Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is trying to bring about a settlement in terms of the United Nations resolutions of September 4 and September 6. I can assure him that India will always be prepared to give the fullest consideration to any suggestion that results in the return of peace between India and Pakistan. But if the conflict started with Pakistan sending armed men into Kashmir, they must be withdrawn no less than Pakistan's regular army and Pakistan armour. And, the United Nations Security Council must ensure that these acts of aggression are not repeated again and again in Kashmir.

"It is to me, as I know it is to all of us, a matter of profound satisfaction that in the crisis we have all closed our ranks, set aside the superficial differences of creed and caste and behaved, first and last like Indians. The Sikh leader, Sant Fateh Singh has postponed his fast for the establishment of the Punjabi Suba and I dare say he will be satisfied with the eventual solution of this problem agreed to by the Government and the leaders of the Punjab. We have sixty million Muslims who are honoured citizens of our country. Practically every Muslim organization, all Muslim members of Parliament, and every articulate Muslim in India, from Cape Comorin to Srinagar, have pledged loyalty and support to the stand of the Government of India.

"We are fighting today not for a piece of territory but for fundamental principles. Victory in our struggle for the maintenance of India's freedom and federal union which includes Jammu and Kashmir, is vital to the saving of free institutions. India has a freely elected Government, a free Press, reliance on law and a non-communal State which respects all religions. We are resisting a military dictatorship, a controlled Press and a theocratic State. We believe in freedom even for those who think differently from us. The intersts of democracy demand our victory ; otherwise the lamp of freedom will go out in Asia.

"We have also to avoid any form of hatred of the people of Pakistan, who are our kith and kin. Friendship with them has always been our primary objective. It is not our desire to hurt Pakistan to save India. Our commitment to peace is well known. We do not believe in any unbridgeable chasms. There are more things which bind us together than keep us apart. In this dreadful situation, let us have a few moments of introspection and make our spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice prevail.

"May I congratulate our officers and jawans on the front for their courage, heroism and sacrifice and express to them the gratitude of the whole nation. They have not only displayed gallantry and valour in the field, they have also shown chivalry. There can be no dignity without magnanimity. Valour and honour go together. We are proud of our soldiers, our airmen, our naval ratings, their achievements and their valour,

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but, above all, we were proud of their nobility, which is a great part of the gift of life. And let the rest of us, who are not on the field of battle, remember their readiness to sacrifice even the most precious gift of life and adopt an attitude of courage and self-denial. Thank you."

In 1965 Mr. M.C. Chagla was the leader of Indian delegation to the U.N. On September 12, 1965 Mr. Chagla openly said in New York that it was the duty of the Security Council to declare Pakistan as an aggressor.

Mr. Chagla rejected any stationing of a U.N. peace force in Kashmir and said that while India would agree to strengthening and increasing the U.N. observers, she whould not agree to a U.N. peace force. Stationing of such a force would violate Indian sovereignty, he said, and added, "Only 18 years ago we got rid of British colonialism and troops. We do not want it in any other front."

Mr. Chagla charged that Pakistan had begun its latest attack on India on Chinese instigation and inspiration. China was now encouraging and instigating Pakistan not to heed the Security Council's call for a cease-fire.

Mr. Chagla noted in this connection that, as in Vietnam so in India, China was trying its best to get India stabbed by Pakistan.

Criticising also the Pakistani use of arms supplied by the United States under military aid agreements, Mr. Chagla denied the story—oft-printed in the American Press—that India also was using American arms.

There is no doubt about this fact that America was supplying arms to Pakistan with a view to ruin India.

About the U.S. military aid Shri G.L. Mehta wrote in the *Times of India:*

"India has received massive economic assistance from the United States totalling 55.3 billion (about Rs. 2,300 crores) including foodgrains. It stood by us in the dark days of October-November 1962 when the Chinese invaded our land and has helped us to build up our defences. It has virtually under-written our three Five-year Plans and has been the largest contributor to the World Bank consortium. America may have a closed mind on the Kashmir question but that is not due to any bias against India. Anyone who has paid even a brief visit to the United States knows of the enormous fund of goodwill towards India and of the spontaneous desire of all sectors of the people to help us in our development.

"Even in regard to military aid to Pakistan, enlightened and liberal American opinion, including some prominent Senators and Congressmen, did not favour it, not, be it added, because of any hostility to Pakistan but because it rightly felt that such aid would involve the United States in regional disputes and be self-defeating. Some leading newspapers—among them *Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor and St. Louis Post Despatch*—criticised the aid when it was first given. So far as I know, three former American Ambassadors advised against it and one of them, Senator Sherman Cooper, has only recently supported India's stand. No sensible Indian believes that the United States after generously

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assisting India would like to see the Indian economy crippled.

"Here, then, is the rub. Both President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles indicated that in the event of aggression by Pakistan the United States would be on the side of India and such an assurance was reiterated by the present American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, in August 1961 in New Delhi, who was also critical of the U.S. military pact with Pakistan. But events have proved that this is no safeguard. What is essential is to prevent aggression, not to take sides when it happens. The United Nations after twenty years has been unable to define "aggression." When there are unsettled disputes between Pakistan and India, there is a virtual military dictatorship and war hysteria is continuously kept up, military aid is bound to have serious repercussions and lead to some rash military adventure as has happened.

"In the present crisis between India and Pakistan, for example, the systematic infiltration from the Pakistan side backed by its army and the massive violation of the case-fire would, in common sense, be construed as "aggression". Yet the issue is sought to be clouded by describing India's defensive action in crossing the cease-fire line as "aggressive." As Mr. Nehru had foreseen, "aggression may take place again and be denied as the previous aggression in Kashmir was denied till it could not be hidden. Later long arguments will be carried on as to whether or not it was aggression."

"The fundamental error was thus in giving arms aid to a country whose object in receiving it was entirely different from that of the donor. Would Pakistan have dared to have a trial of strength with India but for this assistance obtained under false pretexts?

"No wonder the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives observed in 1960 that "our military assistance has. . .in places disrupted delicate, regional balances of power between the recipient nation and its non-communist neighbours.

The report of the chief of the U.N. Observer Team has made it clear that the present clash has been due to the infiltration of armed men from Pakistan. Whatever the views of the Security Council on the Kashmir question, the cause of the present conflict is beyond doubt. If infiltration and armed attack which violate a cease-fire laid down by an international authority are considered "legitimate self-defence", then surely, words have lost their meaning. To seek to be equidistant between an aggressor and its victim is hardly the way to achieve the golden mean. Indeed as an eminent jurist one observed, impartiality does not mean neutrality: it means partiality for justice."

These lines show how America betrayed India in 1965.

On Sep. 16th, 1965 China asked India to remove her forces from the Sikkim border within three days, otherwise she should be prepared for the grave consequences. This period was further extended upto 23rd September.

The United Nations viewed this 'Ultimatum' very seriously and

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watched the situation very carefully.

The Soviet Union had a positive, constructive and peaceful attitude to the conflict between India and Pakistan and fully appreciated India's position and the defensive action India had been obliged to take as a result of the Pakistan aggression.

U.S.A. was also extremely embarrassed because of Pakistani use of heavy equipment which the former supplied under the S.E.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O. aggrements.

These arms were given on the understanding that they will be used against the communist powers. India was assured by Washington that they will not be used by Pindi against India. Even then American arms were used by Pakistan.

The United States, like Britain, stopped military aid to both the countries engrossed in this conflict.

Britain also stopped military aid to Pakistan which was bound to have a very bad effect on Pakistan who depended for defence requirements to the tune of 75% on foreign countries.

It was a matter of regret that British attitude had not been friendly to India. She was not happy over India's retaliatory action across the Punjab border.

The then Prime Minister of India Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri told the British Prime Minister Mr. Wilson that though he shared Mr. Wilson's horror at the turn the situation had taken but asked him what steps he would have taken had Britain been faced with such military problem.

Mr. Shastri pointed out to Mr. Wilson the duplicity of Pakistan. On one hand Pakistan was signing the agreement on the Rann of Kutch, on the other she was organizing armed raids on Kashmir. Cynicism and duplicity of this conduct were horrifying. It was a betrayal of the worst order.

Iran stopped oil supply to India as a step to help Pakistan indirectly. On the other hand she agreed to supply jet fuel to Pakistan. Turkey offered to give aid in the shape of ammunition to the tune of rupees two crores. This was being being done under a long standing commercial agreement with Pakistan.

We would like to mention here that our foreign minister Mr. Swaran Singh announced in the Lok Sabha that any step towards giving military help would be termed as a hostile step towards India.

Pakistan was the first to introduce its air force into the fighting in support of her ground forces in Chhamb.

Pakistan was once again the first to widen the area of conflict on 5 September by openly intruding into Indian air space across the international border at Wagah and firing rackets at an Air Force unit in Amritsar.

In a broadcast on 6 September, President Ayub threw off his mask and declared "We are at war." This was the first time that a responsible Pakistan leader has talked officially of "war". An Indian official spokes-

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man said on 6 September that India was not at war either with the people of Pakistan or with the state of Pakistan.

Pakistan has again been the first to take the fighting to the sea. On 7 September, Pakistan "impounded" two Indian merchant nevy vessels of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. (The ships were S.S. Sarasvati, a coastal passenger liner operating on the Bombay-Karachi run, and the 10,000-ton freighter S.S. Jal Rajendra which had called at Karachi from Europe to unload about 3,500 tons of general cargo).

On the morning of 8 September, Pakistan used its Navy and without any justification bombarded Dwarka Port on the coast of Kathiawar. an ancient religious place, which has no military installations nor did it have any aircraft there.

Pakistan air force was the first to raid the civilian population in Amritsar, Jodhpur, Pathankot and Ambala. Even Indian hospitals, gurudwaras and mosques were not spared.

U. Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, was fully convinced that it is Pakistan who is responsible for the present trouble. General Nimmo's report in the Security Council has held Pakistan responsible for sending the armed men in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

General Nimmo, further reported that Pakistani troops had crossed the International Border with approximately 90 tanks and were moving from the Chhamb sector towards the east. Pakistan artillery fired in the Poonch area during the night of September 1, 2, and in the afternoon of September, 2, 1965.

The Secretary General suggested five conditions for a return to normalcy:

(*i*) A willingness of both parties to respect the agreements they have entered into.

(*ii*) A readiness on the part of the Government of Pakistan to take effective steps to prevent crossing of the cease-fire line from the Pakistan side by armed men, whether or not in uniform.

(*iii*) Evacuation by each party of the positions of the other party now occupied and withdrawal of all armed personnel of each party to its own side of the cease-fire line which would include the withdrawal once more of Indian troops from Pakistan positions in the Kargil area.

(*iv*) A halt by both parties to the firing across the cease fire line that has been occurring from both sides in some sectors with artillery and smaller guns.

(*v*) Allowing full freedom of movement and access to UN observers by both parties on both sides of the line.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, in a reply to message from U. Thant pointed out that the root cause of the present dangerous situation was the undertaking of massive infiltrations of armed personnel from the Pakistani side well organised and trained in sabotage and subversive warfare, the whole operation being conceived, planned and executed by Pakistan.

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U. Thant decided to meet President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and the Indian Prime Minister personally. He visited Pakistan first and then came to Delhi.

Pakistan's line of argument in its confrontation with the UN Secretary-General was for a Cease-fire and withdrawl of the forces to be followed by a Kashmir refrendum under UN auspices within three months of the removal of troops.

Mr. Bhutto told U. Thant that Pakistan would not accept a peace which might be temporary, although Pakistan still wished friendship with India in the long run.

After his talks with President Ayub Khan and foreign minister Mr. Bhutto, U. Thant arrived in New Delhi to discuss the matter with the Indian leaders.

U. Thant had discussions with the President Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Broadcasting Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Minister for External Affairs Mr. Swaran Singh on the present crisis.

The Prime Minister's announcement on the outcome of the mission was read out a in press conference by the External Affairs Minister Shri Swaran Singh. He declared that India had gone to the utmost limit of making a positive response to U. Thant proposal for an immediate cease-fire. He said "In the interest of peace we were prepared to agree to a cessation of hostilities. While reiterating its basic stand that Kashmir was an integral part of the country, the Government did not lay down any preconditions for a ceasefire. But Pakistan thwarted the Secretary General's afforts by putting forward a socalled three point plan—cease-fire linked with withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani troops from Kashmir; the induction of an Afro-Asian force, and a plebiscite within a specified period to determine the State's future.

Mr. Shastri declared: "In view of the remarks expressed by the Pakistani President and our foreign minister at press conference it should be clear to all concerned that the defensive operations in which our armed forces are engaged must continue with unabated vigour."

Lal Bahadur Shastri was born in 1904 at Mughalsarai. His father was a school teacher; when Shastri was barely 18- months old he lost his father. He was brought up by his grandfather. His early childhood was full of misery. In 1921 he joined the non-cooperation movement, and for the first time went to prison. All together he spent nine years in the jails of our British rulers.

After he was released in 1921, he joined Kashi Vidyapith and secured his diploma of Shastri which became his surname. He continued to participate in the freedom movement. He was a staunch supporter of Mahatma Gandhi and a total follower of Jawaharlal Nehru.

After settling down in Allahabad (1926), he took active part in the municipal affairs of the city as a member of its board. From 1930 to 1936 he was the Secretary, and then President of the Allahabad District Cong-

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ress Commitee in 1937 which post he held for three years.

For the first time he was elected to the U.P. Assembly in 1937. In 1945 he had his first posting as Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister of U.P. In 1947 he became the Home Minister and Transport Minister of U.P.

It was in the fifties that Shastri was called to the Centre. First, he became the Congress Party General- Secretary. In 1952 he was elected to the Rajya Sabha and was appointed Minister for Railways and Transport. It was while holding this post that Shastri first came to be known as a man of integrity. It was on his own insistence that he left the ministership because of a major railway accident. His resignation from the post of India's Railway Minister was highly appreciated by all Indians.

For a second time he was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1957 and once again he joined the cabinet as the Minister of Transport and Communications. In the next year he became the Commerce and Industry Minister; and after Mr. Pant's death, he was given the portfolio of Home Affairs. Re-elected in 1962, he continued his former portfolio.

It was during this tenure that Mr. Shastri proved himself to be a man of exceptional ability as a negotiator when led a goodwill mission to Nepal in 1963.

Shastri tendered his resignation under the Kamraj Plan and he happened to be one among the six union ministers whose resignations were accepted by Jawaharlal Nehru.

Once again, Shastri came into the limelight after Nehru fell ill in January 1964. He was appointed as a minister without portfolio for the sole task of assisting Pandit Nehru in the Ministry of External Affairs, the Department of Atomic Enegry and the Cabinet Secretariat. After joining the cabinet, he successfully tackled the delicate situation in Kashmir following the theft of the sacred relic from the Hazratbal Mosque in Srinagar. On May 27, 1964 Nehru passed away. The Congress Party unanimously elected him as the leader of the party. Now he was the Prime Minister of India.

As the Prime Minister of India he was first scheduled to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He cancelled his visit because of heart attack. Even then, in December 1964, he visited England and was warmly recevied by the British public. It was in October 1964 that he attended the Conference of Non-aligned nations at Cairo. The last but one international assignment of Shastri was his visit to Canada.

Shastri's last journey was to Tashkent. A few hours after his greatest personal triumph, he passed away. Although the consequential grief was that of his family's, the whole nation joined in it. His place in history rests on the fact that he was a link in Gandhi-Nehru tradition: he led the country in war and he found the gateway for peace with equal determination.

During the Indo-Pakistan conflict (1965) India was able to crush the forces of her enemies under the guidance of Lal Bahadur Shastri who was from outer appearance only a pigmy but actually he was giant politician

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and a very great administrator.

India's War Diary (1965)

August 5 : Heavily armed Pakistani sabotage parties infiltrated across two sectors of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir and clashed with Indian Army patrol units. The raiders were equipped with medium machine guns, two inch mortars and rifles.

One clash occurred near Dhabrot near Mendhar sector of Jammu and the other in the Uri sector.

August 8 : Interrogation of captured men and scrutiny of documents seized from them revealed that they were members of the regular armed forces of Pakistan and the entire action was carefully pre-planned and organized by the Pakistan Government.

August 9 : India addressed communications to a large number of countries drawing their attention to the latest Pakistani aggression and its serious consequences.

The U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant was also informed of the situation. General Nimmo, the United Nation's Chief Military Observer in Kashmir also confirmed the report.

August 10 : About 1200 heavily armed Pakistani infiltrators and saboteures crossed deep into the Indian territory. One clash took place at Jaurian in the Jammu sector and the other in the Kargil sector. Saboteurs caused some damage to a bridge and burnt two schools.

A number of infiltrators were arrested by the Indian security forces. The arrested persons included some officers of the Pakistani army.

August 11 : 94 Pakistani infiltrators and saboteurs killed and 165 wounded. The armed action took place in the Poonch, Rajauri and Naushera sectors as well as at Jaurian in the Chhamb sector.

The first batch of the captured Pakistani infiltrators and *Mujahids* brought to New Delhi. Curfew was imposed in the outskirts of Srinagar.

The Governor of Jammu and Kashmir met the President in Delhi and acquainted him with the prevailing circumstances in the State.

August 12 : A large number of Pakistani armed infiltrators surrendered to the security forces in the Badgaum area, nine miles from Srinagar.

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Kewal Singh flew to Rawalpindi for talks with President Ayub Khan. The arguments advanced by the Government of Pakistan clearly showed that the Pakistani regime was in no mood to consider the matter seriously. Pindi also denied of having any hand it the trouble.

The main aim of the Pindi Government was to create an Algerian type situation. U.N. probe began.

August 13 : An encounter took place between Pakistani armed infiltrators and Indian security forces on the outskirts of the city of Srinagar.

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The Prime Minister Mr. Shastri broadcasting to the nation warned the Pakistani Government that in case the aggression was not stopped, India would be compelled to use force on a larger scale. Force would be met with force, he announced.

August 15 : The Indian Prime Minister told the leaders of the opposition parties that the attack on Kashmir was guided by the Chinese army officers. The techniques and methods adopted by the Pakistani infiltrators in Kashmir were all of the "Chinese pattern."

August 16 : Indian forces recaptured Kargil sector which she had vacated on June 30. Till this day 453 raiders were killed.

August 17 : The Indian security forces captured American made anti-tank rockets, a large number of arms and ammunitions. There were Chinese made torches and batteries also.

A major clash took place between the raiders and members of the Kashmir armed police at Yusmurg.

August 18 : Mr. Z.A. Bhutto who was to arrive in India on the 19th August to sign an agreement on the Rann of Kutch was told by our foreign minister Swaran Singh not to visit Delhi in that connection in view of the critical situation in Kashmir.

August 23 : Regular Pakistani troops numbering between 200 and 300 crossed the CFL in the Mendhar sector and attacked Indian positions with artillery, light machine guns and mortar fire. The Russian Prime Minister Mr. Kosygin wrote to President Ayub Khan.

August 24 : U. Thant summoned General Nimmo to New York to get first hand information regarding happenings in Kashmir.

August 25 : The Indian Security Forces cross the CFL at two points ; jubilations in Jammu and Kashmir.

August 26 : ISF capture Pir Saheba post in the hilly region of Tithwal. Eight Pakistani soldiers were killed and 12 rifles, three light machine guns and a rocket launcher were captured.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, the President of India, who paid a flying visit to Kashmir on this day declared that India would have to cross the ceasefire line to prevent these infiltrations.

August 28 : ISF moved down South of Uri on the Pakistani side across the cease-fire line.

The raiders killed so far numbered 978. The Indian army lost 122 men including 10 officers. There was also a clash in the Poonch sector.

August 29 : ISF captured one more Pakistani post of Bedore across CFL.

August 30 : The ISF capture Haji Pir Pass, one of the main routes of Pakistani infiltrators to enter Kashmir.

A number of other Pakistahi posts were also captured.

Substantial quantities of arms, ammunitions and equipment intended to be supplied to the raiders were also captured.

The posts captured were : Senkridge. Burgi, Pthra, Ledwali Gali, Kuthnarki Gail, Sawan Pattri and Jabar.

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Kashmir's Minister of State for Power and Irrigation, Mr. Gulam Rasul Khan, accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Supdt. of Police visited 14 villages liberated by the Indian troops, beyond the CFL in the Uri sector. The Party went to *Hajipir Pass*, situated at the height of 12,000 feet above sea level.

The villagers with tears in their eyes rushed and embraced the Minister. Many *mujahids* voluntarily surrendered their arms and ammunitions to the Party.

September 1 : The Indian Air Force swung into action against Pakistani soldiers in the Chammb sector and knocked out 10 U.S. made Patton tanks.

The Pakistani army used 48 tanks and heavy artillery and attacked in a brigade strength about 3000 men.

The Indian troops put up heroic resistance and launched a series of counter attacks to contain the enemy onslaughts.

India protested strongly to the United States against the use of American made Patton tanks and other arms and ammunitions which were supplied to Pakistan on the clear understanding that they will not be used against India. These were given under SEATO and SENTO agreements to prevent the communist China.

September 2 : Grim fight in Chhamb sector was reported. Indian Air Force on a roconnaissance mission over the Chhamb area drove away Pakistani Sabre Jets which attempted to intercept them.

September 4 : The Indian Army knocked out three of Pakistani Patton tanks and two F-86 Sabre Jets, inflicting heavy losses on the invading forces in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector.

The U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant in his report to the Security Council laid down five conditions for the restoration of cease-fire in Kashmir. These were (1) A willingness of both parties to respect the agreement they have entered into; (2) Pakistan's readiness to take effective steps to prevent crossings of the CFL from its side by armed men in uniform or otherwise.

The third condition put by the Secretary General was the evacuation by each party of the positions of the other party now occupied and withdrawal of all armed personnel of each party to its own side which would include the withdrawal once more of Indian troops from Pakistan's positions in the Kargil area : (3) A halt by both parties to the firing across the line ; and (4) Allowing full freedom of movement and access to UN observers by both parties on both sides of line.

September 5 : Pakistan carried fighting into Punjab. F-86 Sabre Jet fired two rockets near Amritsar.

In the Jammu area also Pakistan aircraft attacked Bishnab saro and other neighbourly villages.

September 6 : President Ayub of Pakistan in a nationwide broadcast declared "We are at war with India".

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Indian troops entered Pakistani territory in the Lahore sector. The IAF bombed military installations in West Punjab and fiercely pounded the Pakistani armoured column near Jaurian in Jammu.

Lahore radio station damaged. Pakistan dropped paratroopers in the neighbourhood of Pathankot, Ambala and Patiala.

The Secretary-General of SEATO, Mr. Jesus Vargaus, declared that the organisation would not intervene in the Indo-Pak conflict because Kashmir did not fall within the Treaty's obligations.

September 7 : Pakistan extended the air war all over the Indo-Pak border—both in the West and East. It sent its raiding planes over Pathankot, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ferozepur and other Punjab cities, Srinagar in Kashmir, Jamnagar in Gujarat and Kalaikunda in West Bengal.

IAF bombed Pindi and Sargodha air bases. Indian Banks in Pakistan ordered to suspend business pending the appointment of a custodian by the Government.

The Commonwealth Secretary Mr. Bottomley declared that Britain would not help Pakistan against India under the CENTO. He made it clear the CENTO and similar defence alliances would never be employed against a Commonwealth member.

U.S.A. threatened 'aid-cut' both to India and Pakistan. China threatened to intervene in the present conflict siding with Pakistan.

The UN Secretary-General U. Thant leaves New York for Karachi enroute to Rawalpindi.

September 8 : Indian Armed Forces moved into West Pakistan from two more sectors along the border—the Barmer sector of Rajasthan and an undisclosed point in the Jammu Sector.

Our forces occupied Gadra city five miles inside Pakistani territory near Rajasthan. 3 Pakistani tanks and 10 armoured vehicles were also destroyed.

Pakistani aircraft bombed Ferozepur City again. Enemy ships bombed the Dwarka Port in Gurjat escalating the area of conflict.

Paratroppers dropped near Delhi. A Pakistani Air Force C-130 transport aircraft shot and destroyed in mid air in the Delhi area.

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan said in a letter to U. Thant that the fighting could stop only if India agreed to plebiscite.

September 9 : Indonesians wrecked the Indian Embassy in Djakarta. The Indonesian Government openly supported the Pakistani stand in the present aggression on India. Talks began between U. Thant and Pakistani President and Foreign Minister in Pindi.

The Indian forces crossed the Jammu-West Pakistan border and captured five strategic posts.

Not less than 75 Pakistani Tanks were destroyed by the Indian Army and Force in the Lahore, Sialkot and Kasur.

Several officers and men of the 19th Para Baluch Regiment were captured.

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Uri Poonch Sector : Twenty posts captured by the Indian forces so far.

Chhumb-Jaurian Sector : A number of Pakistani tanks destroyed.

Jammu-Sialkot Sector : Five posts were taken. Many sorties flown by the IAF and heavy losses inflicted on the enemy.

Lahore Sector : Further advances were made to new positions.

Barmer Sector : Further advance into the Sind area of Pakistan. Air Chief Marshal Noor Khan dismissed and former retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan recalled to the job.

Pakistani aircraft raided on Jodhpur and Pathankot. The PAF planes fired rockets on civilians killing 11 people and injuring six.

September 10 : 46 more Pakistani tanks destroyed in the Lahore, Sialkot and Kasur regions.

Indian Army crossed the Ravi and established a bridge head on the Pakistani side in the Dera Baba Nanak area. 3 enemy planes were shot down over Amritsar.

Paratroopers were dropped by the Pakistani Air Force in many Assam areas escalating the war to the Eastern sector of India more clearly. Syed Mir Kasim, President of Jammu and Kashmir State Congress sworn in as a Kashmir Cabinet Minister without portfolio.

Indian Forces repelling heavy Pakistani onslaughts, pushed ahead in the Sialkot Sector and destroyed a nnmber of enemy tanks in the fighting.

Turkey and Iran refused to supply Jet planes or pilots to man Jet aircraft to Pakistan. However, Iran agreed to supply oil and Turkey agreed to supply military aid worth Rupees Two Crores.

The President announced a number of awards to the Indian Air Force pilots who displayed inspiring leadership, determination and conscious gallantry in the air operations against Pakistan.

Two Wing Commanders W.A. Goodman and P.P. Singh were awarded Mahavir Chakra. Eight pilots got Vir Chakra. They are Sq.-Ldr. M.S. Jatar, Sq.-Ldr. S. Handa, Flt. Lt. Tirlochan Singh, Flt.-Lt. A.T. Cooke, Fg. Off. S.C. Mamgain, Fg. Off. A.R. Gandhi and Fg. Off. V. Neb.

September 11: The Indian anti-aircraft fires shot down three Pakistani bombers which had tried to raid Amritsar early in the Morning. 12 Army Officers were honoured for gallantry in the operations in the Poonch, Uri and Chhamb sectors. Four officers were awarded Maha Vir Chakra and eight army officers were awarded Vir Chakra.

With just a handful of men the late Capt. Chander Narain Singh successfully met the first onslaught of a group of 100 Pakistani raiders in the J and K area. In a single handed determined assault, Capt. Chander Narain Singh lost his life, but only after he had beaten back the enemy. For valour of the highest order he was awarded the Maha Vir Chakra (posthumous).

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Lt. Col. Gurbans Singh Sangha held on to his position and refused to leave it in spite of an overwhelming Pakistani breakthrough, supported by armour, in the Chhamb sector. Continuous enemy raids did not deter him in the execution of his duties. He was awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

Major Bhaskar Roy fought the aggressor and knocked out six Pakistani tanks in the Chhamb sector. For his daring courage he was awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

Major Ranjit Singh Dayal showed outstanding leadership and courage in capturing the 11,000 feet high hill feature Sank in the Uri sector. It was the capture of this feature which eventually led to the capture of the strategic Haji Pir Pass. Major Dayal was also awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

Pakistan suffered a major military disaster in the Lahore area when the general officer commanding the First Division and the commander of its artillery brigade were killed in a savage tank battle which left the outskirts of the city littered with the enemy dead and wounded.

September 12 : Pakistani planes again raided Amritsar city and Jodhpur. There was no change in the situation in the Lahore sector. Our forces captured 15 Pakistani tanks and destroyed 40. Enemy forces massed along Jaisalmer. Gitaldaha in Dinhata subdivision of Cooch Behar district was bombed by enemy planes. U. Thant met our President and held preliminary talks with Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Enemy lost 246 tanks. Indian troops occupied two important positions eight miles north west of Uri. Another strategic post was captured north of Poonch.

Two Pakistani Lt. Colonels, six Majors and a large number of other ranks were taken prisoners.

Subedar Raju, the anti-aircraft wizard who was mainly responible for saving Amritsar from many Pakistani air attacks became Hero of the city. He was personally congratulated by the Home Minister Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda and the Congress President Mr. Kamraj Nadar. Subedar Raju was responsible for shooting down 12 Pakistani aircrafts. As a goodwill gesture, Mr. Mohinder Singh Bedi, Commissioner of Panchayats and Laison Officer of the Punjab Government announced at a citizens' meeting in Moga that the people of Amritsar had decided to present Rs. 2,00,000 to Subedar Raju.

September 13 : The American Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk warned China to stay out of this trouble. Nine civilians were killed in an air raid on Jammu. Pakistani planes were seen over Greater Bombay but could not do any damage as our anti-aircraft guns drove them away.

September 14 : Indian Air Force planes raided Peshawar and Kohat airfields deep inside Pakistani territory and damaged a number of enemy aircraft which moved there from Sargodha to escape destruction.

In the Sialkot sector, Indian troops made further technical gains after repulsing two new enemy attacks on their positions. Three Pakistani tanks were destroyed. Pakistani planes dropped 40 bombs on Jodhpur. Lahore airspace came under Indian control. Government of India allowed

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American Government on request to allow 6 transport planes to carry nearly 700 American citizens stranded there to America. Earlier the Pakistan Government responded to this request.

September 15 : Sialkot-Pasrur Rail Link came under Indian Army control. 4 fresh air raids were carried on Sargodha inflicting heavy losses to the airfields.

On the other hand Indian aircraft bombed Raiwind railway junction about 30 miles south-west of Lahore on the main line towards Karachi. They also attacked Kamoke railway station about 35 miles from Lahore, the northern rail route towards Rawalpindi.

Pakistan attempted 10 raids on Amritsar. The planes were driven away by anti-aircraft fire. Another vital position seized in Sialkot area.

Enemy's losses so far:

Pakistan losses: 55 aircraft destroyed; 284 tanks (including 34 captured, four of them with crew).

During the period August 5 to September 13, 16 Pakistani officers and 1,831 other ranks were killed and 320 men, including seven officers, were captured.

On the Indian side, the casualties were 612, including 37 officers killed.

The tally of tanks lost was between 50 and 60.

President Ayub appeals to the United States to intervene and bring about a cease-fire. He also suggested a Commonwealth Prime Ministers Peace Mission to India and Pakistan.

September 16: Indian Army patrols crossed the 140 ft. wide Ichhogil canal, the tank barrier along the inner line of Lahore's defences, at a number of points to probe enemy activity on the other side. Our forces also occupied the Burki township about eight miles south-east of Lahore.

The Pakistani forces used anti-tank guided missiles for the first time.

Pakistani Aircraft used Napalm bombs, considered inhuman in war conventions. The bomb weighs 750 lb. and its capacity is 110 gallons.

The shell itself is light, weighing 70 lb. The remaining 680 lb. is highly incindiary material which melts metals and at a distance of 100 meters (110 yards), turns human being into ash.

China asked India to remove her army from the Sikkim border within 3 days otherwise she should be prepared for the grave consequences.

September 17 : Fierce Battle in Sialkot area. 29 Patton tanks put out of action in a battle near Chawinda along the Pasrur railway line.

The Soviet Union decided to continue its regular arms supply to India.

September 18 : Peking troops moved near Sikkim and Ladakh border.

At the Sikkim-Tibet border Chinese troop movements were seen near and around Nathu-La, and Jelep-La, the strategic tri-junction of Sikkim, Bhutan and the Chumbi Valley "dagger point." Mr. Chagla made it clear to the Security Council that President Ayub knew ahout the Chinese ul-

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timatum to India. "He wants India to fight on two fronts. He wants China to stab us in the back."

The Soviet Union has announced that in case China attacks India, she will support the latter.

T.N. Koul, Indian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. discussed the Chinese 'ultimatum' with Mr. Andrie Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister. Pakistani planes attacked Jammu villages with Napalm bombs.

Pakistani planes indiscriminately attacked the Ambala military hospital.

September 19 : Pakistani planes attack an I.A.F. plane carrying Mr. Balwant Rai Mehta, Gujarat Chief Minister and his wife. Both of them along with three others including the Pilot Mr. J. Engineer were killed. Five Pakistani Sabre Jets raided Jammu city and fired rockets on a crowded locality.

Indian troops captured three more posts north-east of Sialkot and cut the vital Sialkot-Chaprar Road.

This road was being used by the enemy for ingress into Indian territory.

Security Council asked India and Pakistan both to order Cease-fire to their respective forces. The cease-fire was to come into force on 23rd of September, 1965 at 3-30 a.m.

India agreed to accept the Security Council's directive provided Pakistan also agreed to do so. Commonsense did prevail on Rawalpindi though belatedly and the cease-fire was subsequently agreed upon.

Four hours after the cease-fire had been accepted, the Pakistani Air Force shamelessly raided Amritsar and Chhehrata in the Indian territory and did indiscriminate bombing of these two places. Heavy losses of life and property were reported.

Though cease-fire was in force since the mid-night of September 23, 1965, Pakistan committed more than 556 (up to 22-10-1965) violations of the C.F.L.

This is very clear that the Pakistani forces were doing so out of sheer frustration and under the false concept that she maght gain some of the portion of the lost territory.

Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, the Pakistan Foreign Minister threatened the United Nations that in case the Kashmir Problem was not settled within three months from the date of coming into force of the cease-fire, Pakistan would withdraw from this body.

The Security Council has not so far recognised that Pakistan was the aggressor and committed the aggression against India.

India repeatedly made it clear to the world that Kashmir was a closed chapter.

Details of violations committed by the Pakistani forces after the acceptance of the Cease-fire :

September 22, 1965 : About three and a half hours after the cease-fire was to have come into effect, Pakistani Air Force planes rained death and destruction on Chhehrata, a suburb of Amritsar.

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About 54 persons were killed and 150 injured in this most inbuman and senseless bombardment.

September 23 : Pakistani troops crossed the cease-fire line north of Jhengar 90 miles north-west of Jammu and started digging trenches on Indian side of the line.

September 26 : Pakistani troops made a large-scale intrusion into the Fazilka area, about 53 miles south-west of Ferozepore.

In this attack, Pakistan deployed over 1000 men or well over a battalion and at least one squadron of tanks.

India took a grim view of this deliberate and pre-planned Pakistani attack which resulted in sizeable causalties.

September 28 : Pakstani troops set fire to Khem Karan town. At least 5 villages in Chhamb-Jaurian sector were also burnt.

About 2000 organized hooligans who arrived with 2 truckloads of stones attacked the Indian Chancery at Karachi. They smashed every window and threw bundles of oil-soaked cloth into the building. The Police did not make any attempt to drive them off.

September 29 : It is reported in the Paper that there have been 42 serious cease-fire violations by the Pakistan forces since the coming into being of the cease-fire up to September 28, 1965.

September 30 : Nearly 500 Pakistani Rangers concentrated at a place in Jaisalmer district. This showed the Pakistani malignant designs, who had no intention of stopping its intrusions into Indian territory.

October 1 : Pakistani troops launched a strong attack on a hill feature near Jaurian. The attack was repulsed.

The enemy attack in Fazilka was also repulsed with success.

October 2 : It was reported that Pakistan was trying to improve her positions for new aggression, disregarding even the presence of the U.N. observers.

October 4 : Pakistani troops resumed firing in the Latitila-Dumabari area of Assam, East Pakistan border.

October 8 : Pakistani troops in the Lahore Sector made unsuccessful attempts to cross the Ichhogil Canal at several points but were repulsed by our forces.

October 9 : Jawans of the Rajasthan constabulary recaptured Kimror and Shobhala posts in the Barmer district from the Pakistani troops.

October 11 : Four Pakistani soldiers killed in clashes between Indian and Pakistani troops in the Lahore Sector.

October 12 : Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri made a surprise visit to the Indian positions in occupied territories of West Pakistan right up to the Ichhogil Canal. He said he went there to congratulate the Indian Jawans on their heroic and historic achievements on the battle front.

October 13 : The Pakistan Army made a massive attack on the Indian positions in the Tithwal Sector of Kashmir.

The Pakistanis who came across the *Kishan Ganga* river, attacked in

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three waves but were repulsed each time. 80 Pakistanis were killed and many injured.

October 14 : More serious cease-fire violations by the Pakistani troops.

The targets of attack were 26 miles inside our territory from the Jaisalmer border.

Pakistani troops also opened fire on Indian guard posts three miles south of Burki. Our toops returned the fire and silenced the enemy. Two Pakistani soldiers were killed and three were wounded.

Pakistan attempted to create trouble in Nagaland also.

According to documents recovered from the captured Pakistani army officials, Pakistan had planned to capture *Beas* on September 8 and Ludhiana on September 9 with the help of Patton tanks, Sabre jets and other equipment. But the brave officials and jawans, under the command of Lt-Gen. Gurbux Singh planned in such a way that the entire Pakistani plan to capture the aforesaid places was completely foiled.

In Mehmadpura, Indian jawans completely blocked the advance of Pakistani forces. Quarter-Master Havildar Abdul Hamid was the first to destroy three Patton tanks. When he was after the fourth, splinters from an enemy shell hit him. Though wounded, he held on to his position tenaciously facing hail of bullets and shouting to his men "advance" before he fell.

It was in this sector that 97 Pakistani tanks were captured or destroyed. A Pakistani General was killed in this sector. Fourteen Pakistani tanks came to help this General but were disappointed to see him dead.

Another reason for setback to Pakistan was that food supplies did not reach Pakistani soldiers for three days. When Pakistan surrendered at one point their officials requsted our military officials to give them food as they had been hungry for three days.

It is a matter of shame for Pakistan that on October 22 Pakistan observed 'Crush India' day.

Pakistan Air Force directed its raids mainly against civilian localities of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan. Fifty-two air raids were made on Jodhpur, Barmer and Gadra Road areas of Rajasthan. According to reports not officially confirmed, in Jammu sector alone 101 persons were killed and 47 injured. Towns and villages in Punjab were raided almost daily by Pakistani bombers.

Pakistan Air Force had made special target of the holy city of the Golden Temple, Amritsar. Not a day passed without air raid warning signals and Pakistani planes making direct air attack on the city.

It appeared that Pakistan's warlords lost their nerve after successive defeats on all the battle fronts. In sheer desperation they threw to the winds all the rules of civilised conduct which hold equally good in war and in peace. India could have retaliated. The provocation was so persistent and grave that similar action on the part of India would have more than justified. If India refrained from doing so, it showed not only our

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regard for international conventions and ethical values but also our determination to restrict our action to defensive purposes. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri had made it very clear at the outset that India had no quarrel with the people of Pakistan. In all military action our armed forces took scrupulous care to avoid causing injury or hardships to civilians even as a retaliatory measure.

One of the three conditions that Pakistan wanted to lay down for cessation of hostilities was a plebiscite in Kashmir within three months. Nothing is a greater proof of the fact that the conflict between India and Pakistan was forced upon India by the rulers of Pakistan.

Encouraged by the Chinese, Pakistan had convinced itself that India was now faced with such a formidable power confrontation that it could be forced to cede a constituent unit of the Union to Pakistan in order to buy peace for some time. Often did Ayub Khan talk recently of the need for India to try to cut down her losses by giving Kashmir to Pakistan.

The Kutch episode of March 1965 would appear in retrospect as a probing operation on the part of Pakistan. Obviously India's anxiety for peace at that time had further convinced those Pakistanis who began to live in the world of China's fantasy that after one more push, India would be ready to re-open the Kashmir question also and offer to them the Valley on a platter.

The position of the Indian States under the Independence Act of 1947 was best summed up by one of the leading authorities on Constitutional Law, who incidentally was also the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In a statement issued in New Delhi on 17 June 1947, he had said :

"Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent sovereign states on the termination of paramountcy and will be free for themselves to adopt any course they like. It is open to them (that is to the legally constituted authorities in the States) to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent."

He also said on behalf of Pakistan :

"We do not wish to interfere with internal affairs of any State for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the peoples of the States."

Not only did Pakistan have no respect for the people of other states, it also displayed little respect for the people of Kashmir when instead of allowing the people of Kashmir to determine their future they marched troops and tribesmen into Kashmir to settle their fate with the help of the sword. In fact, two leaders of Kashmir G.M. Sadiq and Bakshi Gulam Mohammed had gone to Lahore in October 1947 in order to precisely persuade the leaders of Pakistan that the people of Kashmir should decide their own future.

When after the invasion, with the fate of the city of Srinagar hanging in the balance, both Maharaja Hari Singh and the National Conference asked India to accept the accession of the State. India did so. Consistently with the stand of the Indian National Congress on the question of States

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it was also stated that India would, after peace was restored in the States and its soil cleared of intruders and invaders, have the accession endorsed formally by the people of the State. India also asked Pakistan to have the same principle applied to other States. Pakistan refused to put any faith in the principle.

The Indian commitment was a commitment to the people of Kashmir and to the rest of India, not to Pakistan.

India went to the UN not to request it to arrange a plebiscite but to have the aggression in Kashmir vacated by Pakistan so that the terms of Kashmir's association with India could be freely decided by the people of Kashmir.

Pakistan sought a *locus standi* for itself in Kashmir by trying to persuade the UN that it should have a share in the task of organizing a plebiscite in Kashmir; India refused to oblige and the UN agreed after sometime that Pakistan was not a party directly involved in this matter nor was any doubt left that Kashmir's accession was legally and constitutionally complete.

Over the years, Pakistan while insisting on a plebiscite has been doing everything in its power to see that peace was not restored in Kashmir. By violating the ceasefire line by sending infiltrators and intruders, by organizing sabotage within the State, Pakistan saw to it that no progress could be made in this direction. Pakistan has been hoping all along that by talking of plebiscite it can keep the pot boiling in Kashmir and hoodwink world opinion till such time as it can militarily accomplish what it attempted in 1947. This is what it attempted in 1965; it failed.

For a detailed study of Kashmir Affairs the readers will be pleased to read another chapter of this book, 'Betrayal In Heavens'.

In 1965 the *Patriot* wrote thus:

"The British Government is putting on all the stooges of imperialism in Asia to render maximum help to Pakistan so that its morale may not totally collapse. Britain sees in Pakistan the estern anchor of its anti-Nasser Muslim crescent as well as the last great weapon for the disruption of South Asian political and economic stability. The destruction of Indian and Arab stability is an essential precondition for the revival of British influence in the east. Britain will, therefore, descend to any deceit or conspiracy against us and we should be prepared for similar incidents.

"As long as Britain is not openly and specifically prevented by other Western powers who give us advice in the Security Council and elsewhere, from giving clandestine help to Pakistan, and Nato and other associations of American satellites do not abandon their present policy of secret war against us, we should not attach any importance to Pakistan's talk to cease-fire or the Security Council's tricky resolutions and pompous pronouncements. Pakistan's Government is not an independent entity. It is made up of a gang of opportunists ever-ready to hire themselves out to whoever wants to destroy India. We should tell the world that we shall

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not trust it as long as it is abjectly dependent on Western imperialists or Chinese chauvinists."

Indo-Pakistan conflict convinced the Indian people that the British regime has not changed its step-motherly attitude towards India. Harold Wilson was all quiet when Pakistan committed full-fledged aggression against India in Kashmir. And Mr. Harold Wilson was horrified when India started military operation in the Lahore Sector.

What did Mr. Harold expect of India? To swallow the Pakistan's bullets and deliver the state of Kashmir to Pindi! Mr. Wilson was highly mistaken and was living in his own narrow world of pre-independence 'Divide and Rule' days.

India is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. 1965 developments have convinced us that we should have severed our connections with this Commonwealth.

The Communist Party of India emphatically demanded India to quit the 'Commonwealth'.

The Central executive committee of the party in a 900-word resolution said on the Kashmir question, the British Government's record was "a long and broken one of hostility to India."

"Dependence in any from on the British Government for any part of our defence needs jeopardizes our defence at the most critical moment", it pointed out.

The party called for a continuous campaign in support of the 'Quit Commonwealth' demand and extended its support to the call given by the All India Peace Council and some other organizations to observe 10 October as 'Quit Commonwealth Day'.

The resolution said:

"The role of the British Press and the BBC has been particularly reprehensible. They have slandered not only our people, but armed forces through a scurrilous campaign of lies and distortions.

"Tendentious propaganda has been the hallmark of British newspapers and radio "

The Indian people, the resolution said, "had learnt bitter lessons during the six weeks since the Pakistani aggression began.

One of the most important of these lessons had been that 'both the US ond British imperialists' entertained a poisonous hatred for India, particularly because of the country's independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence."

The imperialists had always sought to bring pressure on our country to reverse or weaken our independent foreign policy. Pakistan aggression was again fully supported and inspired by 'the US and British imperialists for their own sinister purposes.'

"These include, again, besides securing bases through direct or indirect control in the strategic Kashmir Valley, also the weakening of the Indian policy of non-alignment", the resolution said.

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The Communist party consistently demanded that "the Government of India should quit the Commonwealth because of the imperialist, colonialist, and neo-colonialist crimes of the British government and some of its white partners and their support of the Salazar dictatorship and of the rationalist regime in South Africa and southern Rhodesia."

About 19 experts on international affairs, after a prolonged sitting, had come to the conclusion that India should have severed its connections with the Commonwealth.

The commonwealth link was never very useful in a positive manner. It has become since the Indo-Pakistani conflict a source of real embarrassment for India. It provided Britain with an excuse to feel concerned and intervene in the affairs of our sub-continent. The bad effects of Britain's intervention in our affairs become clear from the fact that it was after Mr. Harold Wilson's intervention in the Rann of Kutch dispute that President Ayub Khan began to feel that if he succeeded in creating a critical situation in Kashmir, similar intervention would follow.

Dr. Zakir Hussain, the then Vice President of India, warned the Indians with the following words:

"As I speak to you, news comes that the Chinese, who have played us false once before, are out for mischief once again. They are poised to push their way into our Himalayan frontier of Sikkim and in Ladakh. If they persist in their evil designs, they would probably have set in motion forces which may materially alter the shape of the world—not, I trust, very much to their advantage. China is out to kill freedom in the world; it is out to strangle the growth of democratic institutions; it aims at the domination of the Afro-Asian *lebensraum* and, it in its wild dreams, at the ultimate domination of the world. Let the world beware. But whatever the world may or may not do, we know our duty. We shall not falter, we shall not waver, we shall not hesitate to take up the challenge on behalf of all that is noble and great in the human spirit and, God willing, we shall prevail."

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10 *Inside The Parliament Of India*

Early in January 1957 the annual session of the Congress took place at Indore and in the meeting of the A.I.C.C. the draft Congress Manifesto for the ensuing elections was put before the Subject Committee Meeting for approval. It reads thus:

"Seventyone years ago, the Indian National Congress was born. Its early beginnings were small but significant. This infant organisation was to grow into a mighty organ of the Indian people representing their wishes and urges for freedom. Year by year it grew in scope and outlook, and great men and women, famous in India's story, took part in moulding it so that it might play its destined part to bring independence to this country. Dadabhai Naoroji first enunciated the goal of *Swaraj;* Lokamanya Tilak broadened the base of the Congress and gave it strength and drive; Mahatma Gandhi made it the representative of the vast masses of India and endowed it with faith and self-reliance . . .

Decade after decade, this peaceful and revolutionary struggle continued in India, often convulsing the life of the country and drawing into its fold millions of our people. At the end of 1929, the Lahore Congress defined *Swaraj* as full independence, and on the 26th January 1930, people all over the country took this pledge . . .

Immediately, the sun of freedom was darkened by conflict and disaster, and, soon after, the Master, who had led us from darkness to light, passed away making the ultimate sacrifice for the cause he held dear . . .

The partition of India resulted in the uprooting of millions of people. Vast migrations took place, and the problem of rehabilitation assumed colossal proportions . . .

"The numerous princely States of India were absorbed and integrated into the Union of India. This remarkable achievement within a short period of time, did credit to the Government of India and to the rulers of the States concerned. Similar problems in other countries had led to violent struggles and major conflicts. Here, in India, according to our way, we solved it peacefully and co-operatively, thus laying the foundations of an integrated India.

And so on the draft manifesto ran into some 56 paragraphs spread over 20 pages.

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'To this an amendment was moved by Shri Algurai Shastri, President of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, who made a forceful Hindi speech in support of his amendment. He asked the A.I.C.C. to remember that they were meeting at Indore, where only a few years ago it was not possible to hold any political meetings. The merger of the States and the integration of India into one single administration was the work of Sardar Patel and the reference to his great work without mention of his name was a very serious omission. The Congress should gratefully remember him and add his name in that paragraph. This amendment was not accepted by the mover of the resolution Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who said that while Sardar Patel has done great service to the country there was 'no place for his name' in the manifesto. The Congress President Shri U.N. Dhebar said that he agreed with Pandit Nehru. On the platform and in the *pandal* were, of course, the Congress President Shri U.N. Dhebar, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Shri Kanjibhai Desai, Shri Thakorbhai Desai, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri S.K. Patil, Shri Bhavanji, Chimji, Shri Maganbhai S. Patel, Shri Babubhai Chinai, Shri K.K. Shah Shri Rasiklal Parikh and many others who owed their existence in the political life of India to Sardar Patel.

The Congress President Shri U.N. Dhebar asked Shri Algurai Shastri to withdraw his amendment if he did not want it to be defeated and to dishonour the memory of the person he wanted to honour, as he was sure that the amendment would not be accepted by the house!

The Congress Bosses in Bombay i.e. the president, Shri S.K. Patil, the Vice-President, Shri Bhawanji, A. Khimji M.P., the Secretary Shri K.K. Shah, M.P., Treasurer, Shri Babubhai Chinai, M.P. did not keep their solemn assurances in respect of a huge financial responsibility that they made Dahyabhai to undertake for running a group of newspapers for the Congress in Bombay just before the General Elections of 1952 and left him of all his life savings.

It was in 1957 when Dahyabhai first severed his life-long links with the Congress. His friends who were so much worried about his association with some Communists in the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad in 1958 we not the least disturbed. They were reconciled to Nehru's taking the country the Communist way. Their rally, with thousands of Communists participating, held in the capital, appeared more like a trial effort how they could take over the capital, as they did in Czechoslovakia.

It was for him an event of no small significance that a portrait of his father was unveiled in the Central Hall of Parliment, more than eight years after his death, on the day after Dahyabhai took his seat in the Rajya Sabha. What controversies and how many different offers to donate his Portrait were received, and the reasons for this delay were really known to only a few people, but in contrast, Prime Minister Nehru himself, according to his own answers to a question in Parliament had written to Chief Ministers of States about the Azad Memorial Fund and his portrait was put up within one year of his death; besides, a hospital

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and a medical college costing a crore of rupees was named after him and a grant of about ten lakhs was made to a private society for a building to be named after the Late Maulana Azad.

Ten lakhs of rupees were collected for a Sardar Memorial Hall to be erected in Bombay. What happened to the project? The money was safe and earning interest, and out of this interest help was given to those who had a proper approach for memorials elsewere. For the Sardar Memorial School in New Delhi, a site was allotted and the foundation stone also laid by Shri U.N. Dhebar, the then Congress President, in 1954, but subsequently its land was taken back by the Central Government under the pretext of novel widening.

On the 6th of September, 1960, the then Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, in a an answer to a question in the Lok Sabha affirmed that "a Statue, a large Statue of Sardar Patel will be erected at Vijay Chowk", that is in front of the Secretariat Building and the Rashtrapati Bhawan. How and why this assurance to Parliament by the then Home Minister was forgotten and statue erected elsewhere and at whose instance and the reasons there of, people are left guessing. For those who know, it is not difficult to understand that all this was only because of Nehru's likes and dislikes!

Shri K. L. Punjabi, a senior retired I.C.S. officer, has in a biography published in 1952 in English *Indomitable Sardar* says that "there is almost a conspiracy of silence aimed at obliterating his memory."

About the Sino-Indian dispute, Dahyabhai spoke thus in our Parliament on 20.2.1961.

"Sir, I was very happy to hear this morning some of the remarks of our Prime Minister. We are very pleased with the work done by the team of Indian experts who prepared the case agninst China. Ours is really a good case. There is no doubt about it. Of course, our friend, Dr. Raghuvira, has thrown new light because of his study of the subject and the Sanskrit language which only makes the argument stronger. Our case is strong, there is no doubt, but what are we doing? We say that our Army is good, our jawans are good, I quite agree, but what is our Government doing? The world is going to judge you by your actions. What have you done in Kashmir? What have you done about Goa and what are you going to do about China? That is how the world is going to judge you and not by simply repeating, 'We are not going to tolerate any aggression'.

"You can do it emphatically, you can bring your fist on your palm theatrically as long as you like but the world is going to judge you only by your actions. And, may I ask, Sir, what have you done? Sir, the world will also judge us by our Defence Minister, the same Defence Minister who kept the fact of the aggression a secret from Parliament and from the people for five long years. While the Chinese were infiltrating into India on their own, at the invitation of the Government in the name of cultural delegations and what not, they were welcomed, garlanded, received everywhere by Municipal Corporations, by business bodies and a large number

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of cultural organisations that have grown all over India, even supported by State funds.

"Are we sure that all of them came purely on the mission that they send, or were they coming here to find out how much prepared we were, what was our strength, and is it because they saw through what we said and the difference between what we did and what we said that they had dared to advance further and further, that they had dared to revise their maps again and again?

"Now, we are told that they want 2,000 sq. miles more than what it was last year. This is a very unhappy situation. The Prime Minister said this morning that if we are to meet this aggression we must be prepared. May I ask in all humility what is the Prime Minister doing to prepare the nation? Sir, across the border, in Pakistan, not only young men but young girls as well undergo drill with muskets on their shoulders. Are we training a sufficient number of young men? What is the use of saying "We are not going to allow even a foot of our territory being taken?" Are we preparing for it? Are we preparing to resist aggression?

"Then, while we are not preparing for that, there is growing internal weakness. There have been two warnings, the happenings in Assam and the happenings in Jabalpur. In this state of affairs we would be taken quite unawares by any enemy and it will be the failure of this Government if they do not take measures in time before any serious catastrophe overtakes us.

Here, I cite the debate, which took place in our Parliament on 5th May, 1961. It was on a resolution regarding appointment of a committee for the speedy completion of the history of the Indian freedom movement.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel (Gujarat) : Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

This House is of opinion that Committee of eminent historians and scholars should be appointed to assist in the speedy completion of the work on the history of freedom movement in India.

As you know, Sir, there have been questions in this House in regard to the progress made in this matter. There have been several remarks of several hon. friends which prompted me to move this Resolution. Many of us feel that the work on the history of the freedom movement should be conducted at a much quicker pace than what is being done today. Perhaps, in a few years, if not already, a lot of material that would be available would be lost. The opportunity of verifying some of the facts that would come up or that would be published would also be lost because in a work of this type which entails a lot of labour, which would entail collection of a lot of data, and perhaps meeting some people, it may not be possible at the instant to cover all this ground, and possibly many omissions and many discrepancies would come in and once a work of this type is put out, people would come forward and produce evidence that they have to point out the inaccuracies, if there are any, errors, if they less are any.

They would also come forward with further proof. This would be helpful in publishing a revised and a second edition later on. If there is

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delay, I am afraid much of this material would be lost. That is the primary consideration which urged me to move this Resolution.

Sir, I have nothing against the author of the volume that has been published, *History of the Freedom Movement in India.* He is a very eminent scholar, and if I have to say anything against him, I hope you, Sir, and the House will understand that my remarks are not against the person. I have nothing personally against him. I am not here to offend people or to give offence to any Member of this House; nor is that the purpose of my Resolution.

Mr. Chairman: All the time, we must be temperate in our language, restrained in our outlook, behaviour, manners, etc.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Having said this, I must point out there are many many, if I may say so, far too many, inaccuracies in the volume that has been published and which is called, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India.* I asked a question as to the amount of money spent on this venture. In answer to my question on the 24th April, I was told that the Government had spent a sum of Rs. 1,02,909 and Rs. 22,000 on this publication. I dare say that a work of this type would be expensive and I am not quarrelling about the cost but what I would like to say is that when such a large amount is being spent, some care should have been taken to see that there was accuracy. This book is packed with inaccuracies beginning from the first page right up to the last. I will point out a few. In the first page, he refers to the Kushan conquerors who exercised control over North Western India being completely Indianised. Does he mean to suggest that Meerut was the centre of North Western India? That would be the inference that would be drawn from this. I now come, if I may, to the last page.

The Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs Shri Humayun Kabir: Would the hon. Member kindly give the page number?

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I started with the first page and I am now coming to the last page. I will give you what is in the middle later on. I am just beginning from the first page. In the last page "By 1857." The work of Economic Revolution had been completed. What is this economic revolution? "Meanwhile, new forces had started the work of re-construction and the establishment of a new order."

Sir, I do not know whether this is an expression of opinion or whether this is history, but I do feel, Sir, that expressions of opinion should not find a place in a volume of this type. I would have thought that Government should have associated persons who were actively busy in the freedom movement.

I have looked up the book supplied by the Rajya Sabha Secretariat. "Who is who?" and I find that the hon. gentleman, who is the auther of this book, is a nominated Member of this House. He had been Principal of a college from 1925 to 1945, after which he was Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. He then became Educational Adviser to the Government of India. It is but natural that he had very little contact with

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the people who were in the movement and who struggled for freedom. Could not Government have associated people who where in the movement for freedom with him if they had made up their mind to entrust the work to him? I do not know whether that was the right choice but even if Government had decided that this hon. gentleman was to do this work, surely there were other people who could have been associated with him.

A proper committee should have been appointed. There have been many many comments in the press about this, and I am sure the hon. Minister and other Members in this House have seen that some of them are in rather strong language. An eminent historian like Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar says, "The History of the Freedom Movement is an insult to Indian scholarship and a disgrace to the Government of India."

Sir, these are the remarks of an eminent historian which have been published and circulated widely. What has the Government of India to say to this? He suggests that the book should be withdrawn from circulation, and the sooner it is done the better it will be. One of the reasons for urging this point of view is this.

An attempt has been made to belittle the contribution of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, in the initiation of this work. But Dr. Rajendra Prasad's work in this matter, his initiative, is such it is on record–that it cannot be brushed aside. Therefore, while it is admitted that he took the initiative, credit for this work is sought to be given elsewhere, to that Ministry, which I think is unjustifiable.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: What is the period to which this history relates?

Mr. Chairman: All this has nothing to do with history.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: It has.

Mr. Chairman: With initiative, enterprise, etc.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I am referring to the initiative in suggesting that the history of the freedom movement should be written.

Mr. Chairman: One good thing is that you are all now studying Indian History.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Yes, Sir.

Sir, on page 86 of the History of the Freedom Movement, we find that the Kushanas have been identified with the Scythians, though it is very well known that the Kushanas were a branch of the Yue–chi tribe who came from the borders of China towards the West whereas the original homeland of the Scythians was "between the extreme northern shores of the Indus and the headwaters of the Oxus." This is what is said in the *Cambridge History of India*. I am quoting authority; I am not saying it for myself. If you refer to page 338 of Vol. I of the *Cambridge History of India*, you will find this.

But Dr. Tara Chand's idea about the Kushanas is rather hazy. On page 1 we find him writing:

"The Kushan conquerors who exercised control over north western India became completely Indianised."

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This is what I referred to in the beginning. Is Mathura usually regarded as an important city of their empire in north-western India? These are the two statements I referred to earlier.

Again on page 86 we find the following statement:

"Then in the eleventh century Afghans and Turks led by Mahmud of Ghazni forced open the gates of India."

Dr. Tara Chand obviously ignores the fact that the gates of India were opened when Sultan Mahmud's father conequered Kabul from the Shahis. I do not want to go into these details, but Afghanistan was at this period an integral part of India, and it is a pity that Dr. Tara Chand is either ignorant or has lost sight of that important fact.

On page 131 we find Dr. Tara Chand writing that the Sultanate was an "Elective office conferred by the *millat* (community)." Sultan Mahmud is usually supposed to be the first Sultan known to history. Will Dr. Tara Chand inform us as to who elected Sultan Mahmud and the procedure followed? We are aware that later in India the Muslim nobles after the death of a Sultan sometimes had some say in the selection of the successor but to call it election is either not knowing the Turko-Afghan period of Indian Histry or what election implies.

The Minister of Scientific Research And Cultural Affairs Shri Humyum Kabir: Has my hon. friend read that page? If he will read the whole paragraph he will find that the paragraph contradicts what he is saying.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I do not think so.

Shri Humayun Kabir: Read the page once again.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: The next inaccuracy I would point out is when he says:

"The *Sayyads* and the *Brahmanas* constituted the non-military wing of the ruling class."

That is on page 144. One wonders if Dr. Tara Chand has heard of Sayyads of Barha and the Peshwas.

Then a similar howler is found on page 148 where Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"In Bengal, although Chaitanya was born in a Brahmin family, his disciples came from the lowest strata of Hindu Society, and even from among Mussalmans."

It may be news to Dr. Tara Chand that Advaita Goswami, Nityananda Goswami etc. came from the most distinguished Brahmin family of Bengal and I may inform Dr. Tara Chand that Rupa Goswami and Sanatan Goswami were not Muslims, but good Brahmins. It is not a matter of opinion but it is a matter of fact that should be stated in history and I think here Dr. Tara Chand is again completely wrong.

To complete this list of howlers, I do not think it could be completed because it would require a much longer and deeper study than I have made, which is by no means exhaustive. I shall point out what appears as the conclusion of Dr. Tara Chand's studies. He says;

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"By 1857, the work of economic revolution had been completed."

This is on page 392. Sir, no remark is called for to elucidate this final fatuity.

I shall now point out a few inconsistencies.

In the Introduction on page 7 Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"Thus it happened that India, carrying the dead-weight of a moribund social system, yet the bearer of a rich heritage of art, literature, philosophy and religion, stood face to face with a triumphant, proud and progressive Britain, modern in its moral and material make up."

Let us now first take up this "modern moral" of Britain.

On page 256 Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"It is an amazing fact of history that the agents of this great and irresistible force (i.e., the English) were largely unscrupulous, greedy, quarrelsome, envixous men, and these bad bold adventurers had under their command the rank and file of their follow countrymen, many of whom were the veritable scum of the earth—criminals, renegades, half-castes, and the riff-raff of all the races of Europe."

Of the conditions in England of this time Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"Thieves, robbers and highwaymen abounded. . .Crime, smuggling, gambling, animal baiting, adultery and profligacy were common. Relations between the sexes were loose. . .Wives could be sold by auction."

This is on page 259. And on page 277 we find Dr. Tara Chand writing:

"In the latter half of the eighteenth century, public morality was at its lowest ebb in England."

Now about the "progressive material make-up" of England. It should be remembered that the Industrial Revolution in England took place after the Battle of Plassey. Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"The main basis of trade until now (i.e., the Industrial Revolution) had been the export of Indian textiles against British silver. As Vera Anstey points out, up to the eighteenth century, the economic condition of India was relatively advanced, and Indian methods of production and commercial organisation could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world."

This is on page 312 and on pages 364-365 Dr. Tara Chand writes at length and quotes from authorities to prove that the Indian textile industry was ruined by the prohibitive duty imposed on imported textiles by England. But on page 312 he writes:

"Hand-made Indian textiles could not withstand competition against the machine made goods of England and so the textile industry of India was ruined."

And on page 370 we find him writing:

"On account of the lack of sea power, India failed to maintain the overseas markets, which were forcibly acquired by the European nations."

Thus we find on page 312 that our foreign trade was ruined by Industrial Revolution, on pages 364-365 by British tariff policy and on

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page 370 owing to the lack of sea power. Which of these is correct? If all the three, then why did not Dr. Tara Chand say so openly in his book instead of rambling incoherently and jotting down at random any idea as it struck his fancy?

I shall now pass on to two of his observations which, added to what I have already pointed out, raises grave doubts as to Dr. Tara Chand's knowledge of the basic facts of Indian history. On page 127 Dr. Tara Chand writes:

"Notwithstanding the fact that throughout the medieval period the head of the State in India was a Muslim. . .

My question is, where did Dr. Tara Chand get this fact from? What happened to Assam, Orissa, Rajasthan, Vijayanagara and its successor States? Does Dr. Tara Chand claim it to be a fact that the head of these States were also Muslims? To this list shall we add the Maratha States or would Dr. Tara Chand say that Shivaji was born after the medieval period? What then is Dr. Tara Chand's conception of medieval India? Does he mean by this term the territory under the Sultans of Delhi? Would he say that the territory ruled by the Sayyads, for example, can by any stretch of imagination be called India?

Such prejudice based on ignorance becomes dangerous when Dr. Tara Chand forays into unfamiliar grounds though I hasten to add that Indian history seems to be un-familiar to him.

However, I was referring to Dr. Tara Chand's statement on page 75:

"While Orissa has existed through the centuries in isolation from the mainstream of India's past, Andhra and Tamilnadu have been participants in the stir and bustle of the country's history."

In one small sentence Dr. Tara Chand has vividly displayed his ignorance of the history of Orissa, Andhra and Tamilnadu. I cannot undertake to make good his neglected education, but I cannot refrain from telling him a well-known fact of history, namely Ashoka's conquest of Kalinga, by which Orissa is meant, and of a great King and a dynasty, namely, Kharavela and the great Gajapati Kings of Orissa. I mention these not to parade my knowledge, but to place on record that though the Government selected possibly the man most unsuited to the task of writing a history, the Members of this House were not similarly ignoramuses.

The hon. Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs has, I understand, invited Members to correspond with Dr. Tara Chand regarding the shortcomings of his work. I am not inclined to accept this offer, for I cannot see any benefit arising out of correspondence with a man who, sitting practically inside a first class library and with adequate assistance, could produce this work. However, if the hon. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs invites me formally to prepare a list of howlers found in Dr. Tara Chand's book, I shall do so, though it is quite a formidable task in view of the number. But I can do this only on two conditions, firstly, if the corrections proposed by me are not accepted, they will have to be submitted to some eminent historian or a board of

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historians for their opinion. For it has probably by now become apparent to the hon. Minister that Dr. Tara Chand's opinioms are worthless.

Secondly, pending my preparation of the list of howlers and its acceptance or rejection, the sale of the present publication should be suspended.

Mr. Chairman: You have another three minutes.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I will utilise them only to say that the attitude of the Ministry in this matter or, if I may say so, the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, is summed up in the manner in which he has published what he calls the *Autobiography of Maulana Azad.*" I wrote to him.

Mr. Chairman: We are not discussing autobiography now.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I am discussing the attitude of the Minister.

Mr. Chairman: No, no.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I am asking him whether at any place he has got the signature of Maulana Azad on any of his writings, as final proof of what he calls Maulana Azad's Autobiography. He wrote a very nice, polite letter. He had given a lot of quotations, but the last line says that it has no signature. This, to my mind, sums up the attitude of the Minister and the Ministry to these and, therefore, I thought I might refer to it.

Thank you.

Regarding the Report of the Aligarh Muslim University Enquiry Commission another Debate took place in our Parliament on the same day i.e. 5th May 1961.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the outset I have to record my protest at the manner in which we are hustled into this debate. One day it was announced that the discussion on this was going to take place on the 29th. I made my plans to leave Delhi on Friday. On the day of my leaving I heard that it was going to come today. So, I had to rush back all the way from Saurashtra.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Nobody announced that it was on the 29th.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: This was not discussed by the Business Advisory Committee. In a democratic House there is something like a Business Advisory Committee and the Business Advisory Committee surely may have met within the first week. Members should have been given a time table or the programme of the House, so that they could have arranged their programmes.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: We meet only when we are short of time.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Are we full of time today?

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Yes, sufficient time has been given.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Then, why do you put restrictions on time? You are contradicting yourself, with due respect, my protest is not against you. My protest is against the Government.

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Mr. Deputy Chairman: Within the time allotted, it has to be restricted. Please go on.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: All that you have said does not take away what I have said. It has inconvenienced Members, it has inconvenienced me considerably. To announce one day that debate is going to take place on the 29th.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: You are making a wrong statement.

Dr. R.B. Gour: When was it announced? Never was it announced.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: If you have seen the press reports . . .

Mr. Deputy Chairman: You should not be guided by press reports. You get agenda papers.

Shri Dayabhai V. Patel: I think this House deserves a little more courtesy.

Dr. R.B. Gour: Business of the House cannot be at the convenience of the Hon. Member.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Order, Order.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I would like you to take note that he is disturbing. The only way to deal with these friends is always to give them a dose of their own medicine.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: You give room for such things.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Sir, it is a very sad matter that one of the biggest institutions of this country, an educational institution, has had to be discussed in Parliament threadbare in this manner, that it has to be the subject matter of questions in both Houses. And I am very sorry to say that the Government has not come out better or in any day in a creditable manner throughout the whole episode. I must characterise the Ministry of Education as weak, ineffective and incapable of even exercising supervision over what is happening under its very nose, even when repeated questions were asked in this House. I ask the Minister of Education to remember the various assurances that he has given in this House and in the other House and to tell us whether he has kept them during the course of this enquiry. On one occasion the Minister assured Parliament that the Vice-Chancellor, who sat on this Committee being in the position of an accused, would not take part in the proceedings. This was twisted by the Vice-Chancellor to mean that he could sit on the Committee right through. Dr. Gour tried to mislead the House. He is not correct. There are hon. Members in this House who were present at the Committee's business. They will tell you that the Vice-Chancellor on the Committee except on very rare occasions, was present right through. In normal circumstances I would not have objected to the presence of the Vice-Chancellor. But there are abnormal circumstances with regard to the Aligarh University and particularly this Vice-Chancellor and this enquiry. If the Vice-Cancellor were a person like Dr. Zakir Hussain, an eduationist primarily, I would not have minded. Unfortunately for this University, this Vice-Chancellor is a businessman, and a thorough-going businessman, if you like.

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He has forgotton the ideas of a school teacher. He has been a thorough-going businessman. He spends his time in Delhi, Bombay, Bhopal and other places attending Board meetings. Who looks after the University? And thorough-going businessman that he is, he does not brook opposition. It is not a fact that one Professor Saha who dared to come and give evidence before the Vice-Chancellor's house by an inmate of his house? How do you expect this Committee.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: We are concerned with the Aligarh University Enquiry Report now.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I am talking of the enquiry and the report is part of the enquiry. I wish Sir, you would not disturb me by taking my time and breaking my trend of thought. You are not here Sir to defend the Government or the Committee. You are here to help us.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: We will confine ourselves to the report.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: The fact is not denied, and under such circumstances, how do we expect professors, school teachers and academic people to come forward and give true evidence before a Committee of this type? That is the important aspect of this enquiry which should not be forgotton. Under normal circumstances if an enquiry was to be conducted by people who have only academic interests, who are men of learning, whose pursuit in life is purely academic, such things would not happen. But here is a businessman and you know what businessmen are and if he is sitting at the head of this University, what else can hpppen?

I have referred to the various questions that have been asked in this House again and again. Unfortunately the Ministry has never been able to come out better in the questions. It seems they are trying to hide some thing or something about which they cannot very well give an explanation. Why this attitude?

Dr. K.L. Shrimali: What are the things which were hidden?

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: I will presently come to that. The Vice-Chancellor as I have said, is a businessman and more an absentee Vice-Chancellor. Instead of being present there all the time, he is always moving about.

Shri Akbarli Khan: Is that the issue before the Committee? May I know from the Minister?

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: My friend is there in the Western Court as I am, and we know how often the Vice-Chancellor is there instead of being at Aligarh where he is to look after the University.

Shri Akbarali Khan: If he has to come there on work, is there anything wrong in it?

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: But he is maintaining a permanent suite, a permanent driver, a permanent chauffeur in Delhi. Is he working at Aligarh or at Delhi? However, I am glad to see that he has got so many advocates in this House.

The type of education, the type of emotional integration that would take place under such a Vice-Chancellor is not surprising. It was reported

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I do not know, I speak subject to correction that when the Indian Hockey Team was defeated for the first time in 25 years, when it lost the trophy that it enjoyed for 25 years, there were celebrations in Aligarh. The whole country, the whole sporting world of India, was aggrieved at the defeat (interruptions).

One of the items dealt with by the Committee is irregularities in the purchase of property, payment of prices which were not justified. I do not know how the Committee has come to this conclusion. The Vice-Chancellor has always managed to steer the Committee into a position which he liked. He was not satisfied with the original Committee. He got two more people appointed, and it has to be remembered that he has got relations high up in the Education Ministry also—the hon. Minister may deny if I am not making a statement of fact instead of other Members interrupting me again and again. Sir, as regards purchase of lands, about which reference to irregularities has been made, I am afraid I cannot accept the report in the manner in which it is presented before this House. We are told that it was referred to an expert. I do not know what type of expert we get in the matter of land, because land has several aspects. There is vacant land, there is building, there are so many things, and in such matters particularly when there is possibility of a little difference of opinion, the better course which is usually followed is not to leave it to one person but to have a committee or two or three experts so that we get a proper report. In this case it has been left to only one person. Then the difference in the price paid compared to the price of adjacent plots sold is so high. Rupees three is the price that the University has paid for some of the plots, whereas the adjacent plots on one side were sold for eighteen naya paise and on the other side for ten naya paise.

Another important charge against the University is nepotism, the number of relations of the Vice-Chancellor appointed all over the University in different positions. The University is full of relations, it seems, staffed by one or two families. Then the worst thing is that in the matter of examinations and results influence has come to bear. Normally, Sir, grace marks are given or condonation of certain things is made to persons who score a few marks less than those required for passing. Have you ever heard of somebody being condoned and given a degree when he secured only 5 per cent marks in one subject? Compartmental examinations are certainly held, but when one goes through a compartmental examination, it means that he gets atleast a tolerable number of marks, not 5 per cent as has happened in some cases here.

This has lowered the academic standard of the University apart from the other aspects that I have mentioned. The Minister of Education has been an academician and he would understand the implications of what I say I hope he has gone into this. If he had gone into it thoroughly, he would understand exactly what I mean and what I say.

Sir, I was one of those who had asked questions about the affairs here. Then I received a letter from the Dy. Secy. of the Education Ministry

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saying that the Committee would be glad to meet the Members of Parliament who had taken part or had asked questions on the matter or who were interested in it, and a certain date was specified. I reply that I had very little knowledge of the affairs of the University but that I had taken interest and I had asked questions on this matter; that I would like to come before the Committee and ask certain questions so that I could enlighten myself on this point (interruption). I do not yield to you; I refuse to yield to you.

Sir, I wrote to the Secretary of the Committee that I would be glad to meet the Committee on a certain date, and I was leaving Delhi the next day. Promptly I got a letter to say that the committee was not available on that day and that I should not come but that if I could stay over for the next day, I could come before it. All the affairs of this Enquiry Committee have been managed in this way. Very cleverly the enquiry has been steered off the important points. Things had been made inconvenient for people who wanted to come forward and give facts, and that is what I mean by saying that an effort has been made to conceal facts.

Sir, the whole Unit is a very sorry commentary on the history of the progress of education in this country. Sir, to my mind it is of no consideration that this is called a Muslim University. I would have made the same remarks if it had applied to any other university. Affairs of the University are not being conducted properly-it has to be admitted, and the Report is halting, half hearted. I am very sorry to say that there are certain aspects into which I would have expected the Committee to go deeper and give information to go right deep into it. I am sorry that I am disappointed that the Committee has failed to go very deep into this. The Vice-Chancellor was to be exonerated if things had been all right at the University. I would have been only too glad to hear it. But what is the use of saying that audit slips are missing, the vouchers are missing? I cannot accept Dr. Gour's statement that the audit slips and vouchers were missing. But experts had found them out, dug into the matter and replaced them. That is not how accounts are kept. Surely, that is not the way. If the accounts are not all right, if the vouchers are missing, you cannot dig into anything, find them out and set them right. What is wrong is wrong. If the accounts are not regular, it has to be admitted that the accounts are not regular.

Sir, during questions in both Houses of Parliament, allegations were made that the purchase of property by the University was used to enable certain people to escape the provisions of the Evacuee Property Law. The Committee discreetly or cleverly is silent on this matter. I do not know why I fail to understand it. I hope that the hon. Member who has got so much excited over it will, while he speaks, enlighten this House whether they all went into this question and what their findings were; which case they investigated or did they shut their eyes to it? Here is a point on which my friend who is unnecessarily getting excited can enlighten us. He is an able lawyer, understands things.

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Sir, what I wish to say is that the Report as it is presented does not make a very happy reading. The Committee was supposed to say the last word on this matter. Just now, because I was absent from Delhi, a pamphlet has come into my hands 'Remarks of the University on the Report of its Committee of Enquiry.' So, Sir, the person who was the accused was not only allowed to sit on the panel of judges but also to issue something himself on the judgment that was against him. This is unique; this can only happen in such an Education Ministry and in this country.

In August 1960 the Swatantra Group in the Lok Sabha moved a substitute motion disapproving the Third Five Year Plan giving nine reasons why the House should reject the Plan.

Sheer numbers got the better of good sense and the Plan was adopted by Parliament. Three years and five months later, the Swatantra Party's fears that the Plan was misconceived proved to be true. The Treasury benches admitted serious shortfalls and Congressmen themselves were critical when a report on the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan came up for discussion in Parliament on December 5, 1963 when M.R. Masani delivered his famous speech.

The Swatantra Party was accused of having no alternative to the pattern of planning. The speeches of Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani during the discussion in Parliament showed in unmistakable terms what our alternatives were to the path which was taking the country to economic chaos and political disaster.

On December 5, 1963, Shri M.R. Masani, delivered his memorable speech in our Lok Sabha while he was opening the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan. M.R. Masani spoke thus:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the objectives of the Third Plan as stated in the document were unexceptionable. They were, broadly, more savings and investment; secondly, greater production and productivity; and, thirdly, more exports. Unfortunately, Sir, the document that has been circulated to us and to which the hon. Minister has referred, which as he said is an honest document and on which I congratulate the Minister, shows that the results are entirely different from what had been hoped. Even if the admission of failures is 'ambiguously worded' as has been complained of in the Press, even if the attempt is made to 'wrap up unpleasant facts in verbiage and equivocation,' the fact remains that the picture is one of dismal failure. It is not that there are disappointing patches as the Minister just said. The whole picture is dark and without almost any redeeming patch.

In fact, it is the kind of picture which no Government should bring before Parliament without accompanying it with its own resignation. It is a picture of object defeat, as object as the defeat on the NEFA front sustained by this Government last year.

Now, let me say that this is a fair summary of what the document itself says and I shall quote or refer, because time does not permit quoting, to

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the admissions in the document itself. On page 1, it says:"

"It has been a period of slow economic growth. The increase in national income has been of the order of 5 per cent in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years."

That is, 2 per cent per year, as opposed to what was hoped for, 6 per cent—one-third of the rate of growth expected to be achieved. And when it is recalled that our rate of population increase is more than 2 per cent, this means an absolute deficit, going back, not even keeping abreast. The Prime Minister often says we run hard but we do not move because the population increase takes up this increased wealth. But we are not any longer doing even that; we are moving backwards, in spite of running fast. On foodgrains, the documents says on pages 7-8:

"It was of the order of 77.5 million tons in 1962-63 as compared to 79.79 million tons in 1960-61 and 1961-62." In other words, there is a drop, going backwards. The present indication, they say on page 19, is:

"There may be a shortfall of the order of 3.5 million tons in the output of foodgrains."

Industrial production does not show a much better picture. This is what it says:

"Industrial production increased by 6.5 per cent and 8 per cent in the first two years of the Third Five Year Plan." Once again, it is clear that these increases are not in consonance with the rise of anything like 11 per cent per annum anticipated in the Third Plan document.

"In some sectors"—I am quoting from page 21—"performance is likely to fall short of Plan targets to a limited extent, as for instance, in machine tools, aluminium, cloth, coal and iron ore. On the other hand, there are certain crucial projects like fertilisers or establishment of a fourth steel plant in the public sector, where the lag is not only likely to be considerable but also, in the present circumstances, unavoidable."

Then, on page 47:

"Shortfalls in production are expected in the case of steel, tea, oilseeds and cotton."

On page 75, it says:

"A major assumption in formulating the Third Plan programme for agricultural production was that consumption of chemical fertilisers would be considerably stepped up . . . it is clear that the level of availability of nitrogenous fertilisers at the end of the Plan period will fall short of the original targets."

On steel it says on page 125:

"Against the target of 6.8 million tons of finished steel, it is anticipated that the output would be of the order of 5.8 million tons in 1965-66."

On aluminium on page 126:

"Against the capacity target of 87,500 tons the capacity available by the end of the Third Plan period is likely to be about 68,000 tons."

On machine tools on page 127 it says:

"Against the target of Rs. 30 crores of machine tools envisaged in the Plan, the output is now expected to be about Rs. 25 crores."

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I could go on quoting like this for one whole hour. If you turn page after page, as I said, you find not one redeeming picture, not one encouraging conclusion. It is the same about power, the same about industrial share values and small savings. Coming to employment, on page 53 it says:

"Taking a view of the additional employment to be generated during 1961-66, it does appear that in the first two years at any rate, employment has been somewhat below expectations. . . . The conclusion given above is reinforced by the increase in the number of persons on the live registers of employment exchanges . . ."

There are only two things that have increased during the Third Plan and they are welcome to take credit for them, and those two things are prices and taxes.

Shri Tyagi: Who should be proud for it?

Shri M. R. Masani: They should be proud of it because they inflicted further burdens on the people! They are welcome to take pride, if they want to. On prices, it is said on pages 10 and 11:

"If one takes the period of nearly two and a half years since the commencement of the Third Plan, the increase in the general price index would work out to about 7 per cent."

On taxation, on pages 1 and 2, they admit:

"Against a target of additional taxation of Rs. 1,750 crores, during the first three years of the Plan, Central and State Governments have undertaken taxation yielding about Rs. 2,400 crores over the Plan period."

So, the only two achievements that they have are rising prices and increased taxes. Against that, there is failure on every aspect of the economic front.

I would, therefore, say that this document of reappraisal is an honest document on which I congratulate the Minister and the officials who have been preparing it. Thank goodness, we are at least allowed to know the facts! I would say that this document represents a summary of 910 days, because that is the period it covers, of wishful thinking, wasteful spending, excessive intervention, rigid regimentation, outdated dogmas and deepening discontent throughout the country.

As I said, any self-respecting government which presented this document should have the courtesy to tender its resignation simultaneously to this Parliament.

The conclusion to which I come is that this Plan must be scrapped. There is nothing in this Plan that is worth preserving or maintaining. The whole thing is wrong-minded. The whole approach has been wrong, and it is not a matter only of implementation. It is a very easy excuse to say that our Plans are good but the implementation is defective. I would only invite their attention to an effective cartoon in a Delhi paper two days ago on this subject. I refer them to my speech last August during the motion of no-confidence when I said that it is because the plans are defective that implementation is not possible. There is nothing wrong with the

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honest officials whom you ask to implement your plans. It is because your plans are wrong-minded, because your plans do not take into account human nature, because your plans are against economic realities and economic laws, that they are bound to fail, however honestly and well they are implemented.

Now, even the most wooden people seem to hove something penetrate into them, and I am very glad to say that in the last few weeks both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have been making occasional statements that show the first glimpses of economic realism. The Prime Minister has made three or four intelligent statements in the last couple of months, a somewhat unusually high ratio! He said at a seminar at the India International Centre on 22nd September that big plants are all very well but it is the villages which need attention and that when there is no drinking water in the villages, to talk of big plans is rather idle. I was glad to read this because only last August I said the same thing from these same benches when the Prime Minister said; "I did not think intelligent men like Masani did not think of the priority for steel plants." I am very glad that some sense of priority has come at least even to these gentlemen opposite. Shri Nehru also said that the Planning Commission has developed into something which he had not intended. He said it had become a huge bureaucratic organisation and went on to say that it has all the departments of government almost duplicated there.

Indeed, we from these benches have made this criticism that the National Planning Commission has no place in a democracy and that this Moscow Gosplan transplanted on our territory belongs to a communist dictatorship and that if you have a Moscow Gosplan in India then you are setting up a parallel government to the Parliamentary government and to a cabinet responsible to Parliament and through it to the people. I am very glad that the Prime Minister at last has come down to earth and has seen that the National Planning Commission is seeking to duplicate the role of government. I am also glad that my hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, who has become the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, has stressed that the Planning Commission should have only an advisory role and should not become a parallel government. It is all very good, that, though belatedly, these confessions and admissions are being made.

Perhaps the most important of the charges of front is made on agriculture. Let me quote the Prime Minister at Jaipur in November. He said:

"Agriculture is the key and the base of all progress—we dare not be slack. If we fail in agriculture, it does not matter what else we have got."

Not even steel, I presume, about which we have been so enamoured all these years! This is exactly what we have been saying. Read the manifesto of the Swatantra Party. It also makes the charge that the villages and the rural areas are being neglected for the benefit of grandiose plans and now even Mr. Nehru has started talking about the rural areas. But who has done all this? It is the Prime Minister and his government which are responsible for creating this National Planning Commission as a

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parallel government. It is the Prime Minister and his government who have been responsible for neglecting the villages and diverting their hard earned resources for these white elephant steel plants when they needed the resources badly for water, fertiliser, seed and so on. Let us, however, rejoice that, belatedly at least, wisdom has dawned on them.

But while imitation is a sincere form of flattery and one is pleased to hear these gentlemen mouthing slogans lifted from the manifesto of my Party... (Interruption), the question arises how sincere is this repentance; how sincere is this awakening?

Mr. Harold Wilson, the Labour leader in Britain who is our counterpart in that Parliament, said recently about his government something which is very applicable here. He said, "Imitation is the sincerest form of political desperation." It is not only flattery but it is also political desperation. This Government knows that the country is turning against it. It knows that whatever majority it may have in this House, an inflated and unreal majority as I have explained in the past, it is no longer valid in the country.

This repentance has taken a long time coming. But is it sincere? That is what everyone wants to know. I am quite prepared to keep an open mind. I am quite prepared to watch and see by action whether this repentance is sincere. That is what the people of India are going to do. They are not going to be taken in by resolutions. They will watch and see whether these professions of priority for villages, recasting the National Planning Commission into the kind of mould that we have been suggesting all these years, that of a purely expert body of advisers, whether all this is going to be done or not. There are many issues by which they will judge. They will judge by the form in which the Company Bill now before the House will finally be passed. They will judge by what happens to the Seventeenth Amendment, whether this piece of expropriation is persisted in or abandoned. That is how the peasants will judge. Finally, the people of India will judge by the next Budget. It is by these measures that the sincerity of the hon. Prime Minister and his Finance Minister who now talk the language of reason for the first time will be judged.

It is often alleged that we are just critical, that we have nothing to put in the place of this Plan. Let me suggest an alternative approach. You will say: "Supposing the Plan is to be scrapped, what takes its place?" I am prepared to make an alternative approach. The starting point of that approach will be something said by Gandhiji. Gandhiji once said:

"I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to *him*. Will *he* gain anything by it? Will it restore *him* to a control over his own life and destiny?"

Shri Tyagi: This is most inspiring. Thank you.

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Shri M.R. Masani: I appeal to people here, many of whom have deep regard for Gandhiji's teaching, to recall these words and to test the policy of their Government in day-to-day action against this touchstone.

What are the realities? After 17 years, if this had been the approach of this Government, would we be where we are today? Would our per capita income today be Rs. 300 a year, would the consumption of the average man in India be Rs. 300 a year, would the large majority consume less than Rs. 150 a year? Today, the lowest 10 per cent of our population—I am going by official statistics, I am not following my hon. friend, Dr. Lohia, I am following Shri Nanda—according to Government figures, consume 27.5 naye paise daily. The highest 10 per cent, who are supposed to be fabulously rich, consume Rs. 1 per day, and the highest 5 per cent against whom the hon. Finance Minister has such venom with which he spoke an hour ago, consume Rs. 2.37 per day. This is a measure of our destitution and of our poverty! And this is after 17 years of administration by the followers of Mahatma Gandhi!

Recently, in a book published abroad, *After Nehru, Who*? by Welles Hangen, the author has this to say:

"India may boast a Parliament. It also has the lowest standard of living and the lowest per capita income anywhere in non-Communist Asia outside Pakistan."

Then he goes on to say:

"Nehru often talks about India having entered the bicycle age but he does not often mention that it will take a little over 400 years at current rates of output to produce one bicycle for every one living in India today."

If this is the picture, are people going to wait for the Fourth Plan and for the Fifth Plan, as my hon. friends opposite expect? The other day, somebody asked a question as to when something will be done, the hon. Minister got up and said: "At the end of the Fifth Plan," and everyone laughed because they knew that he did not mean a word of it. But who is going to wait till the end of the Fifth Plan?

I want to warn this Government and this House that if they believe that the people of India are going to starve in silence and be exploited in silence by this new vested interest, this new ruling class, till the end of the Fifth Plan, they are making a mistake. They want change here and now. The people want change here and now. They are not going to stand this 'pie in the sky when you die' business. They demand an immediate return for their hard work.

Our Plans have chosen the slowest possible method of advance. this, the State Capitalist method which gives the lowest dividend. An everage return of 0.5 per cent or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on capital is no way of taking the country faster to a higher standard of living. Of all paths open to us, we have taken the slowest and the lowest path.

Professor Galbraith was a good friend of our Prime Minister and his Government. He was a planner; he was a socialist; he was also the author

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of *The Affluent Society*. But he got cured after three years here. Let me read from the last talk he gave in this country. He talked to Bombay University before taking a plane out of this country. Read between the lines of what he says and you find a most damning condemnation of the whole pattern on which we have embarked. He says:

"The purpose of economic advance is not investment and economic growth. Rather it is the ends that these things are meant to serve, and that is improvement in well-being and popular enjoyment of life. This, the well-being or enjoyment of life by the average person, is the ultimate goal. Moreover, a poor country must make good on this promise with considerable promptness. The basic comparison in human affairs is always the present with the recent past."

Then, he says:

"An undue emphasis on the rate of growth. . . "

Rate of growth of steel, Sir—". . . can lead, and in important cases has led, to undue emphasis on current saving on increase of these savings through taxation. As a result, in the name of increasing output in the long run, there has been reduction in the well-being of the average person in the short run. This . . . . " says Professor Galbraith, "can be dangerous policy."

He had in mind what I said five minutes ago, namely, that the people will not wait for this . . . . (*Interruption*). They want justice here and now.

What then is the remedy? I would say that what we need to do is to concentrate on producing the things that the people need immediately. What are those? They are food, clothing and shelter, the needs of life, and some education for their children. I think, it is a fair summary of what comes first, that is, food, clothing, shelter, the bare necessities of life, daily comforts, and some education.

Let us just take food and clothing to understand what this means. A learned professor of Economics has worked out—and people in the Planning Commission also have confirmed this—that a man needs Rs. 30 a month or Rs. 360 a year for the bare needs of life, that is, nutrition Rs 21 per month, clothing Rs. 3 per month and shelter etc., everything, Rs. 6 per month totalling Rs. 30 a month. This was worked out in a seminar by a spokesman of the Planning Commission. I accept it. I am not quarrelling about figures now. It is a miserable pittance. I do not think any hon. Member would dream of living on this for a day.

How is this to be secured? Modest as it is, can we get this? It means that today's per capita income of Rs. 330 a year must be converted into the national minimum by 1975. If even after 15 years you want this Rs. 30 a month to be available to the average man, today's per capita or average will have to be the bottom or the minimum. In order to do that, our per capita income will have to go up to Rs. 540 a year. In order to get Rs. 330 or Rs. 360 a year as the minimum, the per capita income will have to be Rs. 540. These are things worked out by the Planning Commission itself. It has also been estimated that to get this per capita income

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of Rs. 540 a year by 1975, we shall need a rate of growth, not of this miserable 2 per cent which has been put before us, but of 7 to 8 per cent a year, even more than the target which has not been fulfilled. Now, Sir, 7 to 8 per cent a year is achieved in many countries. Japan has touched 20 per cent; West Germany has touched it, and in Nationalist China which I have visited it was 7.7 per cent in the last two or three years. It can be done. But how can it be done and by whom? That is the question that really faces us. If the Plan has to be scrapped, how is it to be done otherwise and by whom?

Coming to the concentration on foodgrains and cloth, let us take an example. The per capita consumption of foodgrains in 1960-61 was 16.5 ozs. This has to be raised to 23.1 ozs. by 1975-76 to give what may be called a decent nutritional minimum. This involves the doubling of food production in India from 80 million tons in 1960-61 to 160 million tons in 1975-76: About cloth, today's per capita consumption is 15.8 yards. What is required in 1975-76 is 22.1 yards. Again it involves doubling of the production of cloth from 9 million yards today to 18 million yards in 1975-76. This is the first thing; to double, more or less, the quantity of foodgrains, cloth and building material which are needed by our people for food, clothing and shelter.

The second thing is to provide gainful employment to people so that their hands are used productively, so that there is money in their pockets, some purchasing power with which to buy things. This is important. I am not arguing humanism here. With these hardened Marxists opposite, humanism does not work. But let me put it even from the point of view of rate of growth. Consumption is important. Production is certainly very important, but consumption is also important. A starving man cannot produce. A certain measure of nutrition is necessary before you can get a productive human being to produce. So, quite apart from humanism and decency, even from the point of view of increasing production, you want healthy, reasonably healthy, able people. So, nutrition has relation to production itself. So long as the colossal under-utilisation of our manpower goes on, as it does today, we cannot except production to go up. So in some cases, consumption is even anterior or prior to production, although by and large production has to precede consumption.

Now, the implications of this are that, if you must maximise production, the available resources have to be utilised where the return is highest. Every unit of production must give the highest possible return. And this can only be achieved where production and investment can shift in response to the needs of the consumers, where the common citizen can indicate his needs for cloth, shelter and other articles. So, we must keep pace with the demand. This means the sovereignty of the consumer, consumer preference, which is economic democracy going alongside of political democracy.

This can only be done by ending the State capitalist, bureaucratic, monopolistic system that we discussed earlier this afternoon. It can only

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be done if the people can produce to meet their own needs and are given incentives and rewards for doing so. Nothing short of a complete reversal of the State capitalist pattern will be required. Otherwise, you stick at your 0.5 per cent rate of return and take this country to its ruin.

Maximising production, therefore, means two things: first, a change in the order of priorities. Our Chinese Communist enemies, stupid as they are, have learnt at least that lesson. About a year ago, Chou En-lai went to the Chinese Communist Congress and said: "Scrap all this heavy industrialisation. The new order of priorities, according the Chinese Communists, is (1) agriculture, (2) light consumer goods industries, and (3) heavy and basic industries." This was the Great Leap Backwards after the Great Leap Forward which failed to materialise. Even these Communists, rigid as they are, the worst Stalinist lot, have come to their senses on this point at least. Why then are we going ahead following the old Stalinist model which even the modern Stalinists have discarded?

Secondly, it means a reversal to different allocation of the role of the State and of the people. I have said it before and I repeat it. We stand for the State playing an active part in our economic life. We stand for a mixed economy of free and State enterprise co-operating in serving, or competing in the service of the people. There are legitimate spheres for both. The appropriate sphere of the State is to build the infra-structure, the foundation for economic advance. That is not a minor thing. It means irrigation and water supply, it means power; it means roads, transport and communications of every form; it also means education. And finally, there is an essential minimum regulation to stop anti-social practices. All this is the legitimate role of the State as understood in civilised society. But that is where the role of the State steps. When the State starts making pencillin, when it starts making steel, it becomes an exploiting element, and it sells pencillin and steel at a price which is many times the cost it takes to produce or import.

That is why Professor Galbraith, the author of the *Affluent Society*, who preaches State enterprise in America, realises that in India something very different is required. And this is what he says in his book, which many of his admirers forget. He says:

"In poor and ill-governed societies, private goods mean comfort and life itself. Food, clothing and shelter, all technically subject to private purchase and sale, have an urgency great than any public service with the possible exception of the provision of law and order."

I think, Sir, you will agree that neither I nor any of my colleagues on these Benches have ever put a proposition as extreme as this. We have never said that, with the possible exception of the police, Government should do nothing else, and only private enterprise should give food, clothing and shelter to the people. That is a very extreme position for a planner and a socialist to take. We take a very much more modest position. But when a man like this is driven to saying this, with his experience of this country, we have got to realise what realism means.

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Therefore, we shall have to change this whole approach. If we want our country to have a decent subsistence, if we want our people to have adequate food, clothing and shelter, this Five Year Plan must be scrapped completely.

This does not mean that you have to abandon socialism. I said in August that the socialist objective is one that every human being would accept. Who does not want a free, prospepous and more equal society? Of course, we want it. But the State capitalist path is the discarded nineteenth century, out-moded path to get to social justice. This is what socialists in one country after another have understood, except our own socialists. So, I am not calling for a surrender of the socialist objective.

Let me give an example. Only recently in October, the German Social Democratic Party, one of the strongest in Europe decided as follows. I am reading from the *New York Times* of October 7th. It says:

"The German Social Democratic Party turned its back on 'economic planning'. A declaration of faith in private enterprise was proclaimed by Socialists leaders at an economic conference held by the Party in Essen."

It futher says:

"The Essen Conference... represented another long step in the evolution of German social democracy from a 'class' to a 'people's' party.... Socialist leaders began the evolution five years ago by scrapping the party's Marxist manifesto."

So, let them not follow my pattern, let them not follow the Swatantra pattern. Let them follow the Western socialist pattern, and we shall join in that, because that kind of socialism makes sense to us, not this Soviet-obsessed, Statist pattern which has been imported into our country from Moscow.

President Kennedy was a great favourite of our governmental leaders and we all admired him. Nobody called him a reactionary. He made a speech, reported in *Time* magazine of November 29; it was made a few days before his death. I am quoting him. He said:

"We have liberalized depreciation guidelines to grant more individual flexibility, reduced our farm surpluses, reduced transportation taxes, established a private corporation to manage our satellite communication system, increased the role of American business in the development of less developed countries, and proposed to the Congress a sharp reduction in corporate as well as personal income-taxes and a major de-regulation of transportation."

Here was the great progressive President listing measures which my hon. friends here will call capitalist. But he was a ture progressive. If we want to admire Kennedy, let us at least learn a little from him.

Now, I come to my conclusion. Since my return to this House in August; I have become aware of a queer sense of unreality about some of the discussions and the atmosphere in this House. Outside, in the constituency and elsewhere, I find seething discontent. I find raging anger among the common people, and the poorest of them I am referring to.

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There is widening cynicism and a lack of faith in the honesty of purpose of this Nehru Government. There is a sense of desperation that they do not see how they can escape from this mess. Even the hope of an alternative government, of a change of government, does not appear before their eyes. This is something I deplore, because I am a democrat to my finger-tips and I do not want anything to happen which is outside the scope of the Constitution and parliamentary democracy. But I am worried about it because I see signs of this impatience with the democratic process. People think of short-cuts, desperate expedients.

And when we come to this House, what do we find here? An amazing sense of smugness and self-complacency. Months go by, years go by and problems remain unsolved; but Ministers stand before this House radiant with self-satisfaction at their non-achievements! Only yesterday we had the spectacle of the Food Minister indulging in such a performance.

The economic policies of the Government have failed as miserably as their defence and foreign policies crumbled last year in October and November in NEFA. The patient grows steadily worse; his health subsides, he sinks. But the Chief Physician and his fellow-physicians gambol about the country proclaiming the soundness of the patient's health and their own magical curative powers. The Chief Physician is surrounded by sycophants who seek to transform or transmute his record of dismal failure at home and abroad into a great, endless, triumphal parade.

This image of total composure may be reassuring to the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches and those who support them here. But I want to ask: how long can they shut their eyes to grim realities? How long can they go on like this ignoring what the people are feeling, for the people have given through various manifestations in the last six or eight months the answer? They can go on like this only so long as the people remain drugged by ignorance, drugged by the cult of personality, and drugged by absence of knowledge. I can assure you, Sir, and the House that this will not last for long. Even illiterate people have been known to rebel; even an illiterate people's patience comes to end. The people of India today are suffering; they are getting desperate. 'The mills of God grind slow but they grind exceeding small.' And the wrath of the people can be just as God's wrath.

On December 11, 1963, Prof. N. G. Ranga spoke thus in the Lok Sabha:

I am extremely sorry that the Prime Minister's speech has been so disappointing. He is talking of frustration, but his whole speech breathes of frustration. He talks of disappointment. But what else is it but disappointment that we derive from the speech that he has made today about his pet child that he has nursed for the past fourteen or fifteen years?

My hon. friend wanted us to keep in mind what is known as perspective planning. It is true that he is very much like that gentleman who thinks that he is moving on an asphalt road and does not think that it is only a cart track, and goes on with his eyes on the sky; and when he

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stumbles and falls, somebody else comes and says 'Look here, you are making a mistake,' but he gets furious at him and says 'Do I not have eyes? That is the kind of Government that we have. It has eyes, but it does not see, and it does not know how to see even when others are prepared to help it to see.

Then, my hon. friend has talked about planning. He seems to think somehow or other that the Swatantra Party is opposed to the very idea of planning. Therefore, he tried in an unsuccessful manner to go on twitting us on that particular point. There also, he is something like the gentleman who says 'Do you want a Government or not?'; and when we say 'Yes,' he says 'However corrupt it may be, however inefficient it may be, however useless it may be, and however dishonest it may be, it is Government, and therefore, you must have it.' If we say that we do not want this kind of Government and that we would like to have an alternative government, or another system of government or another person to be in charge of Government, he gets furious; he says that for a long time to come, the Swatantra Party would not have a chance at all to go over to that side.

But the pity of it all is that he does not realise that he has stayed there for far too long, and indeed, the very way in which he and his Government stick to power goes contrary to what he himself once said to me when we were together, namely that there is what is known as the disease of power. That was not his concept. That was the concept of Lord Acton who passed it on to him, and he passed it on to me. With this disease of power which has taken charge of this Government, it is impossible for them either to mend themselves or to amend themselves. The sooner they realise it, the better it will be."

This House, having considered the Third Five Year Plan—A draft Outline laid on the table of the House on the last August, 1960, disapproves of it because:

(*a*) it is unrealistic and misleading by reason of an over-estimate in the targets of production and of savings and other resources; it underestimates the required outlay mainly by ignoring the rising costs due to inflation inherent in the Plan, and is in the result improvident;

(*b*) the huge uncovered gap between resources and outlay, the continued resort to deficit finance, the threat of additional taxation, will all lead to accentuation of inflation and a continuing erosion in the real income and savings of the people which will cumulatively encourage antisocial forces. This rise in prices will also lead to a higher cost economy which will make it impossible to compete in the world markets and develop exports. The Plan makes no attempt to work out a stable price and money policy;

(*c*) while the desirability of encouraging equity, capital coming into the country is neglected, there is too much dependence on foreign aid, which leads to mortgaging the future of the country;

(*d*) the insistence on fostering collective farming under the name of joint co-operative farming to the neglect of family farming will be a dis-

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incentive to agricultural production and will retard the progress of genuine multipurpose co-operative societies which, in the way they are planned, will be stepping stones to collectivisation. The imposition of ceilings on agricultural incomes will be both disincentive to production and an injustice to the rural population, besides being an attack on fundamental rights and the freedom of the citizen;

(*e*) the greater emphasis on heavy industry to the comparative neglect of consumers' goods will inflict added hardship on the mass of the people; it will also lessen the scope for providing maximum facilities for employment so badly required;

(*f*) the emphasis laid on what is called the public sector results in the creation of monopolies distributed among favoured individuals at the cost of real public, free and competitive enterprise. There is an attempt based on doctrinal prejudice to tilt the scales against the development of peoples enterprise and the economy of self-employed people in the interest of State monopolies. Savings in the people's sector are sought to be drained away to the State sector. This will discourage the spirit of enterprise, hard work and taking of risks by the people and retard the growth of the national product and national income. It will result in the concentration of political and economic power in a few hands and attenuate the autonomy of the State. It will also continue the process of proliferation of the bureaucracy;

(*g*) the conception of compulsory labour in the Plan is contrary to the Constitution and to the principles of democracy and will prepare the ground for communism;

(*h*) the provision of hundreds of crores of public money by way of distribution through grants-in-aid and otherwise by the Union to the States, and by the States to local organisations including *panchayats*, cooperatives and welfare societies will lead, in the absence of a non-partisan approach and suitable checks, to a continuance of waste and corruption through political influence being brought to bear on the administrative apparatus;

(*i*) as a result of all this, the Plan would reduce the income and the standard of life of the present generation and is, therefore against the interests of the people.

On Feb. 22, 1979 India warned the United States and other countries against rearming Pakistan and upsetting the process of normalisation in the Indian sub-continent.

The then External Affairs Minister A.B. Vajpayee told the Lok Sabha during question hour that any attempt to rearm Pakistan on the pretext of development in Afghanistan and Iran would not only be counter-productive but increase instability and create new tensions. This had been communicated to the concerned countries.

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi (Janata) had asked the Government to explain the position in the light of the disclosures made by President

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Carter that the US was increasing military assistance to countries in the Indian Ocean region—particularly Pakistan—because of the situation created by the Iranian revolution and the new Indo-China war.

Dr. Joshi wanted to know what steps were being taken by India to discourage arms race in the Indian Ocean region.

Mr. Vajpayee refused to disclose the contents of the continuing communications between New Delhi and Washington. However, he pointed out that no amount of arms could succeed in saving the Shah of Iran who had been overthrown by popular upsurge in his country.

The External Affairs Minister maintained the countries in this region should realise that they were facing the task of economic reconstruction for which they should forge closer co-operation and not hostility.

The Minister assured Dr. Joshi and Mr. D.D. Desai that the changes in the various countries were constantly under review. He told Mr. Mallikarjuna (Cong-I) that India had, while taking all steps to build a climate of mutual trust in the region, ensured its own security arrangements. Giving an instance, he said India had acquired new aircraft to replace obsolete planes. India did not covet the territory of others but the Government remained on guard.

Replying to an unstarred question by Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta and another member the then Minister of State for External Affairs Samaredra Kundu said the Government had information regarding acquisition of military hardware and equipment by Pakistan from various countries.

The Government was aware that the US Government had conveyed Pakistan its willingness to sell equipment which included naval vessels, tanks and aircraft.

The Minister did not consider it expedient in public interest to furnish details. He assured the House that all relevant developments including the build-up of military capability in the neighbourhood were taken note of in planning the country's defence measures. Within the constraints of the resources, every effort was being made to equip India's armed forces to the extent necessary for defence preparedness.

Reaffirming the Government's position in this regard, Mr. Kundu said it had been brought to the notice of the US Government in the past and more recently that India was concerned at the dangers of arms sales which could upset the process of normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan and hinder the efforts to promote mutual confidence and beneficial co-operation among countries of the sub-continent.

Asked by Mr. R.V. Swaminathan and three others if the US and USSR were fast stepping up their military activities in the Indian Ocean, Mr. Kundu informed the House it was not so. "We have not received any such report. We are, however, keeping a careful watch on the situation and are in touch with concerned Governments including the US and USSR."

On February 27, 1979, a tough attitude towards China, a cautions

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approach to the implemetation of the official language policy, abandonment of the controversial Industrial Relations Bill, speedy implementation of land reforms legislations and opening of a dialogue on Centre-State relations were some of the demands voiced by members in the Lok Sabha during the resumed debate on the motion of thanks to the President for his address.

Mr. Vinayak Prasad Yadav (Janata) regretted that the address made no reference to continued occupation of Indian territory by the Chinese even though the Prime Minister had made it clear that normalisation of relations with China would depend on China vacating the occupied Indian territory.

To the External Affairs Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, who was sitting next to him, Mr Yadav said the damage to India's image by his recent visit to China had been undone by the prompt and forth-right manner in which the Prime Minister named China as aggressor in Vietnam and demanded immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops.

He warned the Government against Chinese designs of establishing its hegemony over all countries of South East Asia and said the time was now most opportune for India to serve notice on China to restore Tibet's autonomy and to vacate the occupied Indian territory.

Mr. Somnath Chatterjee (CPI-M) restated his party's demand for a review of Centre-State relations. He assured the Prime Minister that there would be a "proper response" from his party if he took a "proper attitude" as was made clear at the recent National Development Council meeting at which Mr. Desai's formula for distribution of Central Plan assistance was accepted.

Mr. Chatterji described the Industrial Relations Bill as "obnoxious outrage and a measure similar to one of the draconian emergency laws." He urged the Government not to "precipitate the matter" by rushing through the Bill but respond to the united will of the working class to give it a "decent burial."

Mr. Sarat Kar (Janata) strongly justified the need far creating special courts and said they would only help strengthen the rule of law which was subverted during the emergency.

Mr. Balbir Singh (Janata) congratulated the Government on the restoration of democracy and the rule of law and said two of those who subverted them had been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment only today.

Mr. Vasant Sathe (Cong.I) called for a national dialogue to stall, what he called, the danger of the "forces of destabilisation" threatening the country. He said the special courts Bill smacked of martial law attitude, reminiscent of happenings in Pakistan.

Mr. Poorna Narain Sinha (Janata) was highly critical of the ruling party for neglecting the people of the north-eastern region. He pointed out that there was only one Governor for five States in the region. He "condemned" the attack of armed Nagas on the "helpless" *Adivasis* on Jan. 5. The Union Government had prior intelligence reports but had

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slept over them.

Mr. Bedabrata Barua (Cong) said he was disappointed at the Centre's indifference to the need for early settlement of the boundary disputes between Assam and Nagaland and to the problem of insurgency in the latter State.

Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta (Janata) wanted the critics of the RSS within his party to confront that organisation on the political level. He also suggested that the Prime Minister take the initiative in evolving a national consensus to solve problems of atrocities on Harijans, communal tension and labour unrest.

Mr. Bala Pajanor (AIADMK) congratulated the President for not succumbing to the pressure from some members to speak in Hindi. He said English was a unifying factor and should be encouraged by the Centre.

Mr. Surendra Jha Suman (Janata) criticised the Government for not giving Hindi its due place in administration.

Meanwhile, the resumed debate in the Rajya Sabha generally went along the party lines.

Opposition members described the address as "listless and directionless" and full of wrong statistics. They said that the law and order situation in the country had deteriorated.

Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy (Janata) emphasised the need to eradicate unemployment and poverty.

Dr. Charanjit Channana (Cong. I) felt that the statistics in the address were wrong. The address put the growth rate at 7.4 per cent but, three days later the economic survey mentioned that the growth rate was 7.2 per cent.

From the Congress benches, Mr Dinesh Goswami termed the address as "listless and directionless" and said that it made no mention of regional imbalances and atrocities on Harijans.

Mr. Prafulla Goswami (Ind.) emphasised the need to improve the law and order situation which, he said, was deteriorating. He also suggested the appointment of a Minister for minorities. Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha (Janata) highly praised the address. The Janata Government was taking steps to end unemployment, he said.

On March 2, External Affairs Minister A.B. Vajpayee told the Rajya Sabha that it would be a "mater of concern" for India if Pakistan's nuclear programme aimed at purposes other than peaceful.

Replying to a spate of supplementaries to a question pertaining to reports of manufacture of nuclear bombs by Pakistan, Mr. Vajpayee said: "We have received reports that Pakistan has embarked on a nuclear programme which may not be entirely for peaceful purposes."

"If so, it is a serious matter," he remarked.

Replying to Mrs. Ambika Soni Mr. Vajpayee said the Government had not received any report to suggest that China was helping Pakistan in developing nuclear weapons.

He said the Government did not go by press reports to his effect.

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"We have collected information from our own sources."

He told Mr. D.N. Dwivedi that the Government was collecting information about the preparations now being made in Pakistan for developing atomic energy and its efforts to procure equipment and material which might be used. . .(against India).

Mr. Vajpayee asked the House that the Government policy had been constantly under review in the light of these developments. "If something happens so near (our borders), the Government will invite views of honorable members and like to benefit by their advice."

Replying to Mr. V.B. Raju he said it was a fact that Pakistan had desired that this area should be declared a nuclear free zone." Its efforts to develop nuclear weapons did not go together with the desire of having nuclear free zone.

He said this matter was being discussed at the "highest level and we propose to go further."

Earlier, Mrs. Soni drew the Government's attention to "new dangers" arising out of the collaboration between China and Pakistan in the field of nuclear energy. In that context she highlighted the significance of the recent visit of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission Chairman to Peking.

Mr. Vajpayee said there was no complacency on the part of the Government as alleged by the Congress member. He refuted Mrs. Soni's allegation that India had become a "laughing stock in the world capitals. She was not adding to the nation's prestige by saying such things, Mr. Vajpayee remarked angrily.

Mr. Dwivedi pleaded for a review of India's policy (use of nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes) in the light of Pakistan's attempts to acquire nuclear weapons from China and arms from the United States.

Mr. Vajpayee said the question was beyond his jurisdiction. It might be directed to the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai who was in charge of the Nuclear Energy Department.

The Minister said the Government's attention had been drawn to the reports appearing in a section of press to the effect that Libya and Pakistan were co-operating on developing a nuclear bomb and that Pakistan had received all the necessary help to produce such a bomb.

Asked about the Government's reaction to these reports, Mr. Vajpayee said the Government had consistently stood for the use of nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes and it was opposed to its use by any country for making nuclear weapons.

Replying to Mr. Sitaram Kesari, Mr. Vajpayee said the Government tried to check up with the Libyan Government the veracity of these reports. Its reply was still awaited.

He said India had always kept itself up to date with information about the military build-up in Pakistan and would continue to do so in future as well.

On March 6, 1972 Opposition members in the Rajya Sabha alleged that India's foreign policy was being made in Washington and the

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recent Chinese visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee was a part of that American conspiracy.

Putting supplementaries over calling attention motion regarding the reported permission granted to the Chinese authorities for aerial survey by Chainese aircrafts over the Indo-China-Nepal junction points, the member grilled Mr. Vajpayee for his statement that his visit and the said aerial survey were not linked.

Mr. Kalp Nath Rai (Cong. I) and Mr. J. S. Anand (CPI) quoted some instances and portions of speeches made earlier by the External Affairs Minister while as an Opposition leader, and claimed many contradictions in his stand. Mr. Singh claimed that at one point Mr. Vajpayee had made three contradictory statements in one breath.

Mrs. Ambika Soni (Cong) repeatedly and pointedly put a question as to whether India also had a right to make aerial survey over the two tri-junction points in question. But when the Minister replied to say that this was a hypothetical question, she remarked, "Sir, it is alright if you don't want to answer my question."

The notice for the motion was given by Mr. Sadashiv Bagaitkar (Janata) and nine others. The Janata member also expressed the sentiments indicating that he too was not satisfied with the External Affairs Minister's written statement.

Mr. Vajpayee pointed out that there was boundary treaty between China and Nepal, siged in 1961 and followed later in 1963 by a protocol under which 1111.47 kms were demarcated with 79 markers and inspections by north sides were envisaged.

India, he said, had examined the position of the two tri-junction points in east and west soon after the conclusion of the Sino Nepalese treaty.

Mr. Vajpayee said that the first periodic joint inspection of the Sino-Nepalese boundary started last year in May and the Chinese had voluntarily informed us on June 15, 1978 that the Chinese aircraft would be undertaking survey flights in areas of Chinese and Nepalese territory.

As the survey flights did not involve Indian air space, the question of giving permission by the Government for over-flights did not arise. The survey has since been completed and, on careful checking, it could be stated that, in fact, no violation of Indian air space took place, he added.

Mr. Bagaitkar felt that India has not gained by the lesson which China had given to in the past and he found the Foreign Minister's statement not much convincing.

Mr. Vajpayee told him that India would not make any basic change in its stand in order to make frindship with any country, be it China or anyone else.

Mr. Kalp Nath Rai said that by visiting China Mr. Vajpayee has gone back on his own words and it seems that our foreign policy has become a victim of the American conspiracy. Mr. Vajpayee's visit, he thought, was influenced by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Anand said that he would agree fully with the Janata Party leader

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Mr. Madhu Limaye who suspected that India's foreign policy was finalised in Washington.

The CPI member paid tribute to Mrs. Indira Gandhi for having upheld the traditions of the country in pursuing the foreign policy, but what was happening now was something which brought a bad name to the country.

Mr. Singh pointed out that it was not a coincidence that the two Chinese Vice-Premiers had earlier inaugurated a road in Karakoram and referred to the right to "self determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir" and then 650 Chinese trained Nagas attacking Assam villages. Further, in the Sino-Nepalese Treaty the two points were mentioned in Sikkim and not in India."

It was also worth interesting to note that it was well known that Chinese designs were not good regarding Vietnam and that the latter country had even started approaching United Nations for defusing the situation.

It is also a fact, Mr. Singh said, that Mr. Vajpayee had admitted that the attack on Vietnam was also on card.

The CPI leader felt that Mr. Vajpayee's visit under these circumstances was not his choice but there were some other considerations.

As regards the statement made in the House, Mr. Singh said that in case it was true, why then the calling attention motion was admitted.

Mr. Vajpayee refuted repeatedly the charges and said that there was no change in India's foreign policy which it was its own. India's stand on Vietnam was known that the Chinese had committed aggression. Further, there was no link between Kampuchea and Vietnam action.

The then External Affairs Minister said that China knew it well that Sikkim was a part of India and this was also made clear by him during his visit to China.

Many members wanted to put questions, but the Deputy Chairman declared the subject closed.

On March 13, 1979 Former Finance Minister C. Subramaniam (Congress) castigated the Janata Party for its lack of cohesion during the Lok Sabha debate on the budget proposals. He appealed to them to come together and function as a cohesive unit in the interest of the country. Mr. Subramaniam said the Janata Party was not keen on the totality of Government functioning. Individual Ministers were looking at their self interests.

"For God's sake, come together and function with collective resposibility and in a manner parliamentary democracy functions," he told the silent Janata Party members who were at the receiving end of the sallies. The former Finance Minister made the entire opposition roar with laughter at his description of the Prime Minister as an individual who had attained "Nirvana."

Mr. Subramaniam, continuing his attack on the functioning of the Janata Party, said the confusion in the party was reflected in the economy, individual Ministers speaking with different voices on economic matters.

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Some Ministers were talking about nationalising this industry or the other which might prompt the unscrupulous among them to do damage to the units and even turn them sick at the time of the takeover.

Mr. Subramaniam found fault with the strategies of the Janata Party in the management of the economy, and said there was "a good deal of adhocism and patchwork" for which the entire Janata Party has to take the blame. Although the Prime Minister had declared at the time of assuming office that he would not resort to deficit financing to balance budgets, the present year's budget showed a deficit financing of about Rs 1,300 crore.

Earlier, Mr. Dinen Bhattacharya (CPI-M) said that his party would never agree with the Janata Party's policy regarding the management of the economy. He alleged the present Government too was pursuing the policy of the previous Government which had encouraged the landlords and monopolists. Although the Janata Party's coming to power had resulted in the restoration of civil liberties, democracy and the freedom of the Press, only a few rich landlords and the monopolists had benefited during the Janata rule.

Mr. Giridhar Gomango, (Congress-I) cautioned "Government about the growing discontentment" among tribals.

A proper attitude towards tribal people and their problems was backing, he complained.

Mr V. K. Malhotra (Janata) called for a drastic change in the budget proposals to shift the burden from lower middle and middle classes to people in upper income brackets.

Despite the fall in raw material prices, the paper, textile and vanaspati manufacturers had increased prices, Mr. Malhotra noted, demanding action by Government to stem this trend.

Mr. Malhotra said kerosene, not liquor, should have been spared in the taxation proposals. He also criticised the new levies on petrol, soap, toothpaste and *biris*.

Mr Daulat Ram Saran (Janata) said those who called the budget prokulak had never given a thought before to the poor farmers.

Mr T.A. Pai (Cong) urged the Finance Minister to seriously reconsider and revise his taxation proposals, a majority of which, he said, were unnecessary and unwarranted.

He strongly criticised heavy deficit financing which, he said, squeezed the purchasing power of common man and hit the poorest.

Dr. Subramanian Swamy (Janata) made a bitter attack on the taxes proposed on basic essential consumer goods like soap, tooth brush, domestic gas and kerosene.

He said Mr. Charan Singh, who was the spokesman of the agriculture lobby, had taxed the urban middle class to support the rural elite.

He severely criticised the attempt made by Mr. Charan Singh to induct "political philosophy" which could lead to "class struggle and confrontation."

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Mr C.N. Vishwanathan (AIADMK) supported Dr. Swamy's demand for reconsideration of taxes proposed on urban consumer items.

"I don't see any effort in the direction of removing poverty and starvation," Mr Raj Narain said.

He said those who could not afford to pay taxes or were below the poverty line should be totally exempted from the tax burden.

Mr. Pattabhi Rama Rao (Cong-I) said the budget had hit all sections of the society. It was wrong to say that it had given any relief to villagers. If at all some were benefited, they were only a few big farmers.

Mrs. Jaya Laxmi (Cong.-I) also wanted the Government to launch a vigorous drive for the recovery of the huge taxes arrears.

Mr. Rudolph Rodriques (Nom.) pleaded for a separate budget for public sector undertaking where a huge amount of the tax-payers' money was invested but which were generally "mis-managed."

Over 23,000 searches were carried out in different parts of the country during the last year and contraband worth Rs 352 lakh was seized.

Out of these, 342 searches were carried out in Delhi. Contraband seized in these searches came to about Rs 33.74 lakh.

This information was given in the Rajya Sabha by Minister of State for Finance, Mr. Satish Agarwal.

Asked to give the names, the Minister replied that details were not readily available. "According to reports received by the Government, the number of persons arrested during 1977-78 and April, 1978 to Febuary, 1979, was 1,771 and 1,502, respectively.

Mr. Satish Agarwal affirmed that some foreign diplomats in India had been found to be indulging in smuggling.

Mr. Agarwal, however, refused to disclose details in view of the friendly relations and continuing co-operation from the countries concerned.

To another question, he said the return on the total investment made in Central Government industrial and commercial undertakings in 1977-78 was 8.3 per cent against 9.7 per cent in the previous year. The total investment in Central undertakings was Rs 12.851 crore as on March 31, 1978. It was estimated that investment as on March 31 next would be of the order of Rs 15,170 crore.

Mr. Satish Agarwal said India had liquidated all its drawings from the International Monetary Fund in view of the improvement in the balance of payments and reserves position. India's SDR holdings with the IMF amounted to SDR 364,892,480 as on March 1.

On March 15, the Finance Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, received brickbats in both Houses of Parliament for proposing an unprecedented, heavy dose of taxation on a vast range of mass consumer goods.

His critics included a number of Janata party members. Even some of his supporters who generously lauded the rural orientation given by the *kisan* leader to his budget were critical of the proposed levies on items like kerosene, *beedis*, soaps and the like. Members from all sides were near

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unanimous in their plea that levies on consumer goods should be withdrawn.

Members in both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha spent another day scrutinising Mr. Charan Singh's taxation proposals and the state of the economy, though interest remained at low ebb judging from the attendance.

Another feature of the debate in the Lok Sabha was the absence of a large number of members, mostly from the Janata party, when their names were called out by the chair to speak. At times there were not even 25 members in the House which has a strength of 542. The opposition benches were totally deserted in the afternoon.

In the Rajya Sabha, oppostion members protested against the absence of cabinet ministers at one stage in the debate—they said the convention was for a senior minister to be present. Mr. L.K. Advani, Leader of the House, who had left a little earlier, hurried back and debate was resumed.

A vocal Janata member, Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta, made a blistering attack on the taxation proposals and described them as a "murderous assault" on the poor, the middle class and the salaried group. But he hastened to say that he was not imputing any motives against Mr. Charan Singh. He urged the minister to make drastic changes. Otherwise this budget would deal a deadly blow to the Janata party and its government.

Mr. Gupta refused to concede that the budget benefited the majority among the farmers or the rural people. The rural folk would also start shouting against the budget in a month. According to him the proposals would yield Rs 950 crores additional taxation. Of this, over Rs 900 crores would be put to unproductive use.

To prove his contention that the budget hit the common man most, Mr. Gupta said, Rs. 91 crores would be raised by taxing articles of daily consumption and only Rs 9 crores from taxes on luxury items. Eighty per cent of the farmers would be hit hard by the budget.

He, however, welcomed certain feature like the proposal to appoint a commission to go into the mounting governmental expenditure and emphasis on labour intensive industries to generate more employment.

Two Janata members, Mr M. S. Lather and Mrs Chandrawati, both from Haryana, promptly came to the rescue of Mr. Charan Singh and supported his budget proposals. Mr. Lather wondered why members were so much agitated when, according to them, only "orange flavour" had been offered to the rural people. What would happen if "orange juice" was given to them, he asked.

Another member, Mr. R.K. Dawn from Bengal, too deplored the hue and cry over some relief given to the farmers. Critics forgot that the urban population was getting massive subsidies including on foodgrains. But Mr. Dawn was critical of the levies on essential items.

There was ample support for the "shift of emphasis to the village." Mr. P.G. Mavalankar lauded this concept but hit hard at Mr. Charan Singh as he feared the proposals would tend to bring about a confrontation

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between the rural and the urban people. Viewing it as a "political budget," he said the poor, the middle class and the salaried classes had been taxed mercilessly. He suggested that the taxation structure should not be subjected to annual changes. Instead, it should be revised after three or five years though minor excise changes could be made.

Mr. Suraj Bhan (Janata) and Mr. Balakrishnaiah (Cong-I) made a scathing attack on Mr. Charan Singh for neglecting scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes. The provision for their uplift was negligible. Mr. Suraj Bhan demanded that a financial corporation with Rs. 100 crores be set up exclusively to give credit to the scheduled castes and tribes. While concessions totalling over Rs. 200 crores had been extended to *kisans*, Harijans and Girijans had been left high and dry. Mr. A. K. Roy (CPM) described it as a "stunt budget" which would not benefit the rural poor.

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11 *India And West Asia*

Before we discuss the relations between India and West Asian countries, we must see what we have been saying for the last fifty, forty or thirty-five years. Here I give the most important citations.

"The Congress condemns the decision of Great Britain as a mandatory Power to bring about the partition of Palestine and the appointment of a commission to carry out this project. The Congress records its emphatic protest against the region of terror in Palestine to force this policy upon the unwilling Arabs. The Congress expresses its full sympathy with the Arabs in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British imperialism."

Resolution of Indian National Congress at Haripura session in February 1938

"It should be clearly understood that the basic problem of Palestine is between the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews who want to come from abroad to settle there. Unless the Jews are able to convince the local Arabs of their bona fides, no basis could ever exist for the Jewish entry into Palestine."

Mahatma Gandhi (1948)

"Palestinian refugee problem is above all a human problem and Afro-Asian community should make fullest endeavour to get this solved."

Jawaharlal Nehru at Bandung Conference, 1955

Lal Bahadur Shastri was received as an old friend on his first visit to Cairo in October 1964. Common interests as well as a shared world outlook have contributed to make India-Arab friendship. The fusion of the social, cultural, literary and philosophic values of the Arabs and Indians is singular in the history of the world. The Nubian monuments echo the moods of our Ajanta and the music along the Nile is pregnant with the flavour of Indian classical music.

Indo-Egyptian relations, especially, have survived the vicissitudes of history and subsisted on trade and commerce. The Suez Canal became the gateway to the East for the imperial Powers of Europe and the British

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tightened their grip on Egypt mainly to guard their Indian empire.

During the period of Egyptian and Indian national struggles for independence there were numerous instances of fruitful contacts bew een the political leaders of the two countries. Fraternal delegations from the Wafd used to attend the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi maintained a line of personal communication with the Egyptian nationalist leader, Zaghlul Pasha.

In his first broadcast to the nation as leader of the Indian Interim Government before Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his desire for the closest possible relationship between independent India and the Arab nations. Egypt was one of the countries with which free India first established diplomatic relations. Sardar K.M. Panikkar was the first Indian Ambassador in Cairo.

In the late forties Egypt and the other Arab countries were confronted with the culmination of the British policy of divide and dominate in the shape of establishing a Zionist state in Palestine. India stood solidly by the Arab population of Palestine in defence of their right to their own homeland. When the Palestine issue was raised at the United Nations, India played a leading role in obtaining a settlement acceptable to the Arab nations. Thus, the first bonds of comradeship between independent India and the entire Arab world were forged in the crucible of the Palestine crisis.

India has never tried to betray any other nation. But unfortunately we find that the most affluent nations of the world were always acting against India's stand in world affairs. Perhaps all kinds of riches are born out of betrayal. Shall, I say—'Diplomacy! Thy name is betrayal?'

Diplomacy is a sweet name for betrayal. The recent story of Israel and the Arabs shows it very clearly. India is an honest supporter of the Arab World. It is for this reason that India is betrayed by the developed nations because she is helping the under-developed and the developing ones.

The imposition of Israel on the people of Palestine was overlooked by U.S.A.

Here is the problem of Palestine. At the dawn of history Palestine was occupied by Cannanites who emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula. Then followed waves of invasions by Philistines, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Crusaders and Turks. It was the home of three great religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Despite all this diversity, the basic Arab character of Palestine stood foursquare. It always remained in Arab-speaking land. Historically it formed part of the Arab world. Prof. Arnold Toynbee rejected the claim that it was the exclusive home of the Jews, the so-called promised land. He said: 'After a lapse of 1,800 years it could not be said that Palestine was the land of the Jews. Otherwise, the United States of America should now belong to the Red Indians and the situation in England and in many other countries of the world should be different. In my opinion, the Jews have no right in Palestine except their

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right to personal property. They do not have the right to establish a State. . ."

In world-history, we hear of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. In a letter to Lord Rothschild, leader of the Zionist movement, Lord Balfour, who was then British Foreign Secretary, expressed Britain's sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations and declared thus: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

At that time, of the 700,000 population of Palestine the Jews constituted only seven per cent. Most of the Jews were of Arab origin. They were followers of Judaism; like the Arab Christians in several West Asian countries the Arab Judaists lived peacefully along with their brethren of other faiths until the canker of communalism was introduced. The Jews, who were not allowed to possess or cultivate land in Czarist Russia and other parts of Europe owned two per cent of the total Palestine area of 10,000 square miles. The bulk of the land was with the Arabs.

Reverting to the Balfour Declaration, a sub-committee of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Palestine question, set up by the second session of the U.N. General Assembly, recommended in November 1947 that the Declaration be referred to the International Court of Justice for its opinion. This was because there was no definition in it of the vague expression "Jewish national home." The sub-committee report ran thus:

"If it means no more than a cultural centre which does not affect or diminish the rights and position of the indigenous population of Palestine, then no insurmountable difficulties arise regarding the interpretation of the Mandate for Palestine where subsequently embodied the Balfour Declaration." The report clearly stated that if "Jewish national home" meant the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, there would arise questions regarding the legal interpretation of the Mandate itself. This was because the Mandate had unequivocally promised to safeguard the civil and religious rights of all Palestinians.

The report went on to way: "In the view of this sub-committee, the only interpretation consistent with the objectives of the Mandate and the principles of the Convent (of the League of Nations) is that the Jewish national home is a cultural home for a limited number of Jews and that it cannot imply any grant of sovereignty to them over any part of Palestine or a derogation from the civil, economic, political and religious rights of the indigenous population of the country. This is borne out by several statements of the Mandatory Power, which itself issued the Balfour Declaration."

The report placed on record the statement of Creech-Jones, the U.K. representative at the U.N., that "a national home for the Jews" had already been established in Palestine.

Palestine was ruled like a British colony. The administration strove for the eventual establishment of a Jewish majority state. Arabs were not allowed to participate in the administration. All senior posts were filled

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by British and Jewish officials. The High Commissioner in the first years of the Mandate was a pro-Zionist Jew. The departments of migration, travel and nationality were under Jewish directors.

The most glaring instance of the pro-Zionist policy of the British Government was its decision to throw open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. As a result of this policy the percentage of Jews in Palestine rose from seven in 1918 to 33 in 1947. The proportion of Arabs dropped from 93 per cent to 67 per cent during the same period.

The immigrant Jews were also helped to seize Arab lands. Whereas the immigrants were provided with loans and other facilities, Arab farmers were heavily taxed to the extent of 35 per cent of their produce. Large areas of Arab land were sold to immigrants who had the money of the world Jewry behind them.

The British authorities also permitted the formation of Zionist military squads which took the name of sporting clubs and scout groups. They were also allowed to acquire arms ostensibly for self-defence. A number of terrorist organisations of the Zionists like Irgum, Stern and others were helped to be set up. On the other hand, the Arabs had been totally disarmed. Arab youths were condemned to death and executed for carrying arms and even for possession of ammunition. According to an official British estimate, by 1947 British troops had killed a total 10,000 Palestinean Arabs and had hanged 167 Arab militants. Arab residential areas were blown up. Arab towns, Jaffa and Jineen, were wiped out. A score of Arab villages were burnt, their nationalist parties were dissolved and their leaders persecuted and jailed. Heavy collective fines were imposed on Arab towns and villages because India was sympathising with them.

In the spring of 1946 a mixed Anglo-American Commission was sent to Palestine. In its report the Commission recommended that Palestine be thrown open to Jewish immigration and that 100,000 more Jews be admitted at once. On a request from Britain the United Nations General Assembly met in an extraordinary session in May 1947 and resolved to send to Palestine a commission of representatives of eleven States. Eight members of the commission favoured the partition of the country and the establishment of a Jewish State there, with Jerusalem as an international district. The representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia on the commission recommended making Palestine a federal State. India with its bitter experience of partition was naturally opposed to the division of Palestine. The partition resolution was passed by the Assembly after a strong personal intervention by President Truman.

Like the partition of India, the partition of Palestine also took place. The proposed Jewish State was allotted 56.47 per cent of the area of the country and the Arab State only 42.88 per cent of the area (4,476 sq. miles) and the international zone of Jerusalem about 0.65 per cent (68 sq. miles). Israel had grabbed a very large slice of territory and went on adding to it periodically is more recent history.

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Meanwhile, Britain declared its intention to withdraw from Palestine on May 15, 1948 and from the port of Haifa in August 1948 when the Mandate expired. The partition decision and the announcement of the British intention were a signal to Zionist terrorist gangs to start a systematic policy of arson, massacre and pillage.

The Zionist military organisation Haganah went about destroying Arab villages, capturing Arab towns and looting Arab properties.

By May 15, 1948, when Britain withdrew from Palestine, the zionists had already occupied most of the towns and had seized lands which were not included even in the inequitious partition resolution. Then followed the proclamation of the State of Israel.

Count Bernadotte of Sweden was sent to Palestine to act as a mediator. The cease-fire lasted four weeks, with the Arabs strictly observing all its provisions. The Israelis, however, exploited the situation and, helped by the United States and Britain, strengthened their own position. Arabs of Palestine were betrayed by the British in the same way as India was ditched.

Count Bernadotte made some proposals to the Security Council for the solution of the problem. But the Israelis found them unfavourable. The Zionist terrorists assassinated him in broad daylight in the Israeli occupied part of Jerusalem. Britain and America went on playing their game in Israel in the same manner as they were doing in India. It was a game of betrayal and betrayal alone. They did not even care to see that the partition resolution was respected by the Zionists.

Ultimately, truce agreements were signed in Rhodes in the winter and spring of 1949 between the Arab Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan on one hand and Israel on the other.

Later in 1947, when the Israelis were trying to grab Palestine with the aid of brute force and Big Power connivance, Gandhiji remarked in the course of a *Harijan* article published in August that year: "The Jews have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Why should they depend on American money or British arms for forcing themselves on an unwelcome land?"

Apologists for Israel often pose as champions of the United Nations and a civilised world order. But Israel has consistently defied the world organisation. Take, for instance, the United Nations Resolution 194 (III) of December 11, 1948. In this resolution the General Assembly had decided that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practical date and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss or damage to property which, under principles of international law, and in equity, should be made good by the Government or authorities responsible."

What was the Israeli response to this? David Ben-Gurion, the then

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Prime Minister of Israel, declared that "force of arms, not formal resolutions, will decide the issue."

Nor was it a solitary instance of Israeli defiance of world opinion. Earlier, on November 29, 1947, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution No. 181 (II) recommending the partition of Palestine. Israel was allotted only about 55 per cent of the total area of the country. But on June 4, 1967, it was in occupation of more than 77 per cent of the area. It is a common misconception that this area was enlarged after the Arab-Israel conflict. The truth is otherwise. Take for instance the city of Jerusalem. The U.N. resolution No. 181 (II) dated November 29, 1947 had stated that the city of Jerusalem should be established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and should be administered by the United Nations. It had asked the Trusteeship Council "to discharge the responsibilities of the administering authority." But even before the British withdrawal Israel occupied the holy city and its environs. On December 7, 1949, the Israelis moved their capital and parliament (Knesset) to Jerusalem. Reacting sharply to it, the U.N. Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution on December 20, 1949. It was highly "concerned at the removal to Jerusalem of certain ministries and central departments of the Government of Israel:"

Israel's action was "incompatible with the provisions of paragraph II of General Assembly resolution 303 (IV) of 9 December 1949.

The most serious violation of the spirit and letter of the UN Charter was, of course, Israel's attack on Egyptian territory in 1956, which proved the forerunner for the tripartite aggression on Suez. The U.N. General Assembly in its resolution of November 2, 1956, had clearly noted that "the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory." The Assembly also urged Israel "promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines." Five more such resolutions had to be voted by the General Assembly, most of them unanimously, between November 1956 and February 1957, before Israel withdrew its army of invasion.

Anthony Nutting's book, *No End of A Lesson*, throws authoritative light on two aspects of the 1956 aggression, namely that there were really no organised commando raids on Israel and that it was a flimsy excuse to launch an attack on Egypt, and that, there was preplanned collusion among Israel, Britain and France in the sordid affair. The fact of collusion was also admitted by Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Defence Minister.

In spite of the findings of an impartial authority like the U.N. Secretary-General, the Israeli leaders went on holding out threats to Syria. On May 9, 1967, the Israeli Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol, alleged that Syria was training saboteurs and allowing them to use Syrian territory as a base for their terrorist activities. He added that "if there was no other means of preventing the recurrence of such acts of aggression we shall take appropriate measures against the positions held by the terrorists and against those who encourage them." The next day, the Israeli radio broadcast a statement by its Foreign Minister, Aba Eban, warning the Syrian Govern-

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ment against "Sorian raids on Israeli territory." On May 11, Eshkol charged Syria with responsibility for the failure of direct Israel-Syrian talks.

On the following day, an *Associated Press* (of America) report from Tel Aviv quoted Eshkol as having threatened "to invade Syria and occupy Damascus." On May 12, a British *United Press* report quoted an Israeli spokesman as saying that continued campaign of sabotage in Israel "would inevitably provoke military action aimed at overthrowing the Syrian Army regime." On the same day, the Israeli Prime Minister said: "We may have to adopt measures no less drastic than those of April 7." The reference was to the destruction of 14 Syrian aircraft in a dog fight in the skies. The U.A.R. President, Gamel Abdel Nasser, had then counselled restraint to Syria and prevented escalation of tension.

By May 13, the U.A.R. claimed definite information that Israel had massed nearly two divisions of troops on the Syrian frontiers and that an actual invasion of Syria was planned for May 17. Only the previous day, the Israeli Chief of Staff, Isaak Rabin, had revealed that special army units had been set up to deal with the "Syrian terrorists."

The United Nations Emergency Force served for more than ten years as a highly valuable instrument in helping to maintain quiet along the line between Israel and the United Arab Republic. Its withdrawal revealed in all its depth and danger of the undiminishing conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbours. The withdrawal also made immediately acute the problem of access for Israel to the Gulf of Aqaba through the Strait of Tiran—a problem which had been dormant for over ten years only because of the presence of UNEF.

The request of the UAR for UNEF's withdrawal automatically set off a disintegration of the Force, since two of the Governments providing contingents quickly let the Secretary-General know that their contingents would be withdrawn, and other such notifications would not have been slow in coming.

Legal and constitutional considerations were of course, of great importance in determining the Secretary-General's action. A chronology of the relevant actions in 1956 and 1957, cited by U Thant in his statement of June 26, 1967 may be helpful.

Nov. 4, 1956 : The General Assemby, at its first emergency special session requested "the Secretary-General to submit to it within 48 hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities . . ."

Nov. 5 : The General Assembly established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force, and *inter alia*, invited the Secretary-General "to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution."

Nov. 7 : The General Assembly, *inter alia*, approved the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the emergency interna-

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tional United Nations force and authorised the Secretary-General "to take all other necessary administrative and executive action."

Nov. 10 : Arrival of advance elements of UNEF at staging area in Naples.

November 8-12 : Negotiations between Secretary-General Hammarskjold and the Government of Egypt on entry on UNEF into Egypt.

November 12 : Agreement on UNEF entry into Egypt announced and then postponed, pending clarification, until November 14.

November 15 : Arrival of advance elements of UNEF in Abu Suweir, Egypt.

November 16 to November 18 : Negotiations between Secretary-General Hammarskjold and President Nasser in Cairo on the presence and functioning of UNEF and co-operation with Egyptian authorities, and conclusion of an "aide-memoire on the basis for the presence and functioning of UNEF in Egypt."

January 24, 1957 : The Secretary-General in a report to the General Assembly suggested that the Force should have units stationed on both sides of the armistice demarcation line and that certain measures should be taken in relation to Sharm el Sheikh.

February 2 : The General Assembly noted with appreciation the Secretary-General's report and considered that "after full withdrawal of Israel from the Sharm el Sheikh and Gaza areas, the scrupulous maintenance of the Armistice Agreement required the placing of the United Nations Emergency Force on the Egyptian-Israel armistice demarcation line and the implementation of other measures as proposed in the Secretary-General's report, with due regard to the considerations set out therein with a view to assist in achieving situations conducive to the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the area."

March 7 : Arrival of UNEF in Gaza.

March 8 : Arrival of UNEF elements at Sharm el Sheikh.

In general terms the consent of the host country to the presence and operation of the United Nations peace-keeping machinery is a basic prerequisite of all United Nations peace-keeping operations. The question has been raised whether the United Arab Republic had the right to request unilaterally the withdrawal "as soon as possible" of UNEF from its territory or whether there were limitations on its rights in this respect. An examination of the records of the first emergency special session and the eleventh session of the General Assembly is relevant to the question.

The Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly of November 6, 1956, stated, *inter alia*:

"Functioning, as it would, on the basis of a decision reached under the terms of the resolution 'Uniting for Peace', the Force, if established, would be limited in its operations to the extent that consent of the parties concerned is required under generally recognized international law. While the General Assembly is enabled to *establish* the Force, with the consent of those parties which contribute units to the Force, it could not

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request the Force to be *stationed or operate* on the territory of a country without the consent of the Government of that country."

The General Assembly on November 7, 1956, expressed its approval of the guiding principles for the organisation and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force. The need for Egypt's consent was also stated as a condition or "understanding" by some of the States offering to contribute contingents to the Force.

It seems clear that Egypt did not understand the "good faith" *aide-memorie* to involve any limitation on its right to withdraw its consent to the continued stationing and operation of the UNEF on its territory. The Foreign Minister of Egypt, speaking in the General Assembly on November 27, 1956, said thus:

"We still believe that the General Assembly resolution of November 7, 1956, still stands, together with its endorsement of the principle that the General Assembly could not request the United Nations Emergency Force to be stationed or to operate on the territory of a given country without the consent of the Government of the country. This is the proper basis on which we believe, together with the overwhelming majority of this Assembly, that the United Nations Emergency Force could be stationed or could operate in Egypt. It is the only basis on which Egypt has given its consent in this respect."

The Government of Egypt declared that:

"When exercising its sovereign rights on any matters concerning the presence and functioning of UNEF, it will be guided, in "good faith," by its acceptance of General Assembly resolution of November 5, 1956."

The United Nations in turn declared:

"that the activities of UNEF will be guided, in "good faith," by the task established for the Force in particular, the United Nations understanding this to correspond to the wishes of the Government of Egypt, reaffirms its willingness to maintain UNEF until its task is completed."

The Foreign Minister of Egypt, Dr. Frawzi, gave his understanding of the task of the Force in a statement to the General Assembly on November 27, 1956 :

"Our clear understanding—and I am sure it is the clear understanding of the Assembly—is that this Force is in Egypt only in relation to the present attack against Egypt by the United Kingdom, Frnace and Israel, and for the purposes directly connected with the incursion of the invading forces into Egyptian territory.

"The United Nations Emergency Force is in Egypt, not as an occupation force, not as a replacement for the invaders, not to clear the Canal of obstructions, not to resolve any question or settle any problem, be it in relation to the Suez Canal, to Palestine or to any other matter; it is not there to infringe upon Egyptian sovereignty in any fashion or to any extent, but, on the contrary, to give expression to the determination of the United Nations to put an end of the aggression committed against Egypt and to the presence of the invading forces on Egyptian territory."

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The Secretary-General's report of March 8, 1957, recorded "arrangements for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly." At the 667th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on March 4, 1957, the Foreign Minister of Egypt stated :

"At our previous meeting I stated that the Assembly was unanimous expecting full and honest implementation of its resolutions calling for immediate and unconditional withdrwal by Israel. I continue to submit to the Assembly that this position—which is the only position the Assemble can possibly take—remains intact and entire. Nothing said by anyone here or elsewhere could shake this fact or detract from its reality and its validity, nor could it affect the fullness and the lawfulness of Egypt's rights and those of the Arab people of the Gaza Strip."

Another point having significance with respect to the undertakings of Egypt was the question of the stationing of UNEF on both sides of the armistice demarcation line. The Secretary-General, in his report of January 24, 1957, to the General Assembly, suggested that the Force could have units stationed also on the Israel side of the armistice demarcation line.

In the light of Israel's persistent refusal to consent to the stationing and operation of UNEF on its side of the line in spite of the General Assembly resolution of February 2, 1957, and the efforts of the Secretary-General, it was even less possible to consider that Egypt's "good faith" declaration made in November 1956 could constitute a limitation of its rights with respect to the continued stationing and operation on UNEF on Egyptian territory.

Egypt was always sympathetic towards India. Perhaps this was the reason that the Britishers and the Americans were a little averse to the U.A.R.

The UAR request for the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula was explained by several Indian intellectuals. Dr. S.L. Poplai, Secretary-General, Indian Council of World Affairs, said in a broadcast over All India Radio on June 3, 1967 "Even if for the sake of argument it is assumed that all gulfs and bays surrounded by territories of more than one State constitute international waters . . . there is no automatic right of innocent passage in favour of Israel which has technically never ended its state of war with Egypt. The talk of the Maritime Powers enforcing their right of innocent passage for their ships and goods going to Eilath is, therefore, misplaced."

After tracing the developments culminating in the Israeli threat "to strike a decisive blow" at Syria, Dr. Poplai said: "In view of her commitments under the 1966 treaty with Syria, the UAR Government had to provide some protection to the Syrian Government, had to take some action that might act as a deterrent against a possible Israeli attack on Syria. Among the various alternatives open to it, it decided to remove the buffer of the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza and the Sinai

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peninsula between the UAR and the Israeli forces. This would enable the UAR, without committing a breach of the peace, to impress upon the Israeli Government the seriousness of its intention to stand by the side of its Syrian ally and also open a way for it to put direct pressure upon Israel, if the situation so demanded at a later time."

The broadcast went on to say: "Nobody could question the right of the UAR Government to ask for the withdrawal of UN force from its territory. The United Nations had sent the Emergency Force with the consent of the UAR and the countries who had supplied contingents for the UNEF had agreed to do so on the same understanding. Only if the UNEF had been an occupation force—which it clearly was not—could the United Nations have refused to withdraw it at the request of the host country. Again, even if the UN Secretary-General had hesitated or prevaricated—as has been suggested in some quarters—it is quite obvious that none of the countries which had sent contingents to Sinai and Gaza would have kept its troops in the UNEF against the wishes of the host country. India, therefore, had no choice but to agree and withdraw her contingent from the UNEF. Moreover, it is not commonly known that under the 1956 armistice agreements, the United Nations Force was also to be located on the Israeli side of the Sinai and Gaza borders; but the Israeli Government never permitted that. From its inception, the UNEE system was a one-side affair. One day it had to be scrapped. The revived fear of Israeli aggression against its ally persuaded the UAR Government to end it."

Turning spotlight on the practical results of the withdrawal of the UNEF, Dr. Poplai said: "The withdrawal of the UNEF from the Sinai peninsula enabled the UAR to put an end to another anomaly. As a result of the armistice agreement it was agreed that the *status quo ante bellum* should be restored. But the Israeli forces did not withdraw from the fishing village of Eilath abutting on the Gulf of Aqaba. During the ten years since armistice, the entrance to the gulf being controlled by the UNEF the captured village was developed by Israel into a respectable port, to receive cargo from ships sailing from south Asian and eastern African countries. Because of this development, Israel had acquired access to two seas, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. During the period of the manning (by UNEF) of Sharm el Sheikh and the islands to the east of the navigable channel in the Strait of Tiran, UAR was powerless to remove this violation of its territory, without an act of war. Following the withdrawal of the UNEF, by simply manning the posts at the mouth of the gulf and the strait, it could enforce its rights of control of passage through its territorial waters. And it has done exactly that."

Dr. B.S.N. Murthy, Director of Studies, Indian Academy of International Law and Diplomacy, examined the question in depth in the course of a broadcast on June 7. He said: "It is significant to note that the UAR has not sought to prohibit totally the right of passage to all ships but has only prohibited Israeli ships and other ships carrying

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strategic material to Israel, an act perfectly in consonance with the principles of international law."

Dr. Murthy brought to bear on the problem of the Gulf of Aqaba his expert knowledge of international law and commented: "The Arab claim to sovereignty over the gulf is based on immemorial possession. Israeli occupation of a part of the coastline which includes the port of Eilath is in violation of the UN Charter and several Security Council resolutions as well as the terms of its Armistice Agreements with the UAR and Jordan. The Arabs' refusal to recognise Israeli sovereignty over the coastal strip is also in conformity with the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition. This doctrine militates against the recognition of any territorial gains obtained in contravention of principles of international law. Israel cannot therefore, have any legal claim to any part of the gulf.

"The Arab plea that the gulf is a historic gulf has to be looked into from the three-fold point of view of history, geography and the vital interests of the surrounding States—the three characteristic tests employed by the Central American Court of Justice in the Gulf of Fonseca case. In that case, the Gulf of Fonseca was declared to be a historic bay, belonging to the three countries which surround it, namely, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

"Historically and geographically, the Gulf of Aqaba has, for over 1,000 years, been surrounded by Arab coasts from all directions. From 700 A.D. to 1517 A.D. the gulf was treated as an exclusive Arab area, and from then to the end of the First World War, it was controlled by the Ottoman Empire. With the liquidation of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan became independent States with exclusive sovereignty over the gulf waters, as the legitimate successors of Turkey. The gulf was also of immense commercial and pilgrimage importance. It served as a channel for trade with the east, and was vital for defence purposes. It was also of significant importance for pilgrimage purposes, serving as a gateway to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina. In the light of the near identity of facts of the Gulf of Fonseca case and the present one, and in view of the tests propounded in the former being satisfied in the latter, it may be reasonable and logical to conclude that the Gulf of Aqaba is a historic gulf, belonging to the three coastal States, the UAR, Saudi Arabia and Jordan."

Columnist "Mihira" in the *Financial Express* (Bombay) wrote on June 10: "The basic and tragic fact of the situation is that in order to undo, or atone, for the wrong done to the European Jews, another people, the Arabs of Palestine, were wronged. And this had been done through a series of broken promises, including the one declaring that in the creation of a Jewish homeland, 'nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of other non-Jewish communities in Palestine'—incidentally a preposterous phrasing not different from calling the grass of the countryside the non-dandelion portion of the pastures.

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"If the Arabs have refused to stomach this grievous injustice, one need not have to belittle the persecution suffered by the European Jews in order to sympathise with them. Over a million innocent Arabs driven out of their land and the beastly manner in which this was done are not things that can be glided over—even after the lapse of twenty long years. The usual glib argument is that the Arab countries could easily have absorbed these refugees.

"The answer, one is happy to note, comes today from responsible quarters in England itself. David Astor, the Editor of *The Observer*, in a signed article, has referred to the fact of the Arabs having seen 'Zionist immigration as the solving of a Christian problem at their expense—in particular, Britain and the United States salving a guilty conscience by giving away Arab territory that was not theirs to give, rather than admitting more Jewish immigrants themselves."

"Mihira" revealed how the Western-sponsored Baghdad Pact wrecked all efforts for a peaceful settlement of the West Asian dispute. He said: "There was a time when these hackneyed postures had been almost discarded, and there were indirect but in general encouraging contacts between President Nasser and the then Israeli Premier Moshe Sharet. mainly through British intermediaries, such as Labour M.Ps. Richard Crossman and Maurice Orbach. To the latter, Nasser spoke of his hopes and of his lively sympathy for Sharet. This was in 1954."

Prof. Mohammed Habib of Aligarh Muslim University, in another broadcast, looked at the historical aspects of the West Asian crisis. In a talk over All India Radio on June 14, Prof. Habib said: "No impartial student of history will fail to appreciate the great contribution of the Jews to world culture from the time of the Prophet Moses, the founder of the first Semitic creed, to Albert Einstein, the founder of modern physics and Sigmund Freud, founder of the new psychology. He will not also withhold his deepest and most profound sympathy for the Jews owing to the persecution they have suffered in Europe from the reign of the Emperor Titus, who destroyed Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and physically dispersed the Jews all over the world, to Adolf Hitler in our own generation. But there has never been any persecution of the Jews in Arab lands or, in fact, anywhere else in the East.

"The State of Israel is not a product of Jewish culture but one of the most cruel types of European-Jewish colonialism that the world has seen. It is based on the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, which stated that England would establish in Palestine 'a national home for the Jewish people.' The object was to win over world Jewry to the side of England during the First World War."

Prof. Habib went on to say: "We of the elder generation remember how, week after week, month after month, from 1918 to 1948 the Arabs were driven out of their homes. Mahatma Gandhi had voiced the feelings of all Indians and the substance of all Congress resolutions."

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Recalling the efforts of India and other peace-loving countries to avert showdown in West Asia, Prof. Habib said: "Right up to June 4, 1967, the efforts of India in the Security Council as well as outside were directed towards gaining a breathing spell and finding a *modus vivendi* within the framework of UAR sovereignty. These efforts were, however, frustrated as certain Powers insisted on denying UAR sovereignty over its territorial waters. It must be noted that on the UAR's stand over the Gulf of Aqaba, even the most ardent supporters of Israel could not claim that their assertions were sanctioned by international law. Even George Brown, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who undoubtedly belongs to this category of supporters of Israel, had this to say in the British House of Commons of June 5: "I am bound to say there is a case which the Arabs can deploy: it is a case which has not only plausibility but legality and force."

The broadcast added: "The Powers responsible for preventing India from bringing a modicum of reality to bear upon the issue must today share the guilt for the disastrous war in West Asia".

In conclusion, Prof. Habib observed: "It is heartening to see that during the past few weeks, despite pressures to the contrary, India has stood by the Arabs on the question of UNEF's withdrawal, Arab rights in the Strait of Tiran and the pulling back of forces to the positions occupied by the combatants on June 4, 1967. India's policy was and is based on the recognition of the legitimate rights and justice of the issues involved and the desirability of finding a durable peace in West Asia, an important element of India's national interest."

R.K. Karanjia, Editor of *Blitz* (Bombay), reporting in the issue of June 3, an interview he had with President Nasser on the origin of the latest West Asian crisis. Nasser, answering Kananjia's Questions, said thus:

"The crucial question affecting the very survival of the Arab nation demanded an immediate and effective answer: for the Arabs had come to know that, like the 1956 Suez aggression, Israel's new provocations were being taken in full and complete co-ordination with the Anglo-American Powers.

"We, therefore, answered the challenge with firm, quick and revolutionary action. We decided that if Syria were attacked, the UAR would instantly join the battle.

"By May 14, the die was cast. Our armed forces had to move into Sinai to take their natural positions in order to relieve the enemy's pressure on the Syrian frontiers in the north by opening a second front against him in the south.

"As the result has since proved, the manoeuvre succeeded in achieving its objective of diverting and dispersing the Israeli concentrations from the Syrian border and throwing the enemy into chaos and disarry.

"Before this could be done, however, we had to order the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from the truce line between

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Israel and the UAR. There was nothing controversial about this demand. We were within our rights, both legally and morally, in making it. The UNEF had entered our territory with our approval, and it could obviously not stay there without our consent.

"The Secretary-General of UN did the right and the only possible thing by accepting our request. For this U Thant is being maligned and slandered; and the outrageous campaign that has since been unleashed against him no less than us serves only to prove how deeply America, Britain, and Canada, who, jointly with Israel, are desperately opposing our legitimate action, must be involved in the Israeli conspiracy.

"I want to tell them quite frankly that had the UNEF acted otherwise and changed its fundamental responsibility to one for the realisation of the aims of imperialism, we would have considered it a hostile force and disarmed it by force.

"I say this not to belittle the UNEF, which has fulfilled its mission honourably, but to tell the advocates of this neo-imperialist plan that no country which respects its independence and sovereignty can tolerate such methods.

"I know what really happened in 1956; and as such I am in a position to repudiate all the fiction from the facts of history. Israel has been crowing about its so-called victory in the Sinai 'battles' and 'campaign'. Really there never was any 'campaign' or 'battle', much less a 'victory for Israel'; and today with all the hidden facts having come out, Israel has had to eat crow.

"Let me put the history of the Suez war straight. On the night of October 29, 1956, the Israeli aggression began. Fighting started in Sinai on October 30, but before we could engage the invader in battle, we received the Anglo-French ultimatum calling upon us to withdraw from the Suez Canal; and on October 31, the Anglo-French attack upon us began. The same evening, we were subjected to air raids.

"So we had to order the withdrawal of our forces from Sinai in order to use them in the interior of Egypt. Therefore, in 1956, we had no opportunity to fight Israel. We decided to withdraw before actual fighting started.

"It was only after we had left that Israel was able to occupy parts of Sinai, but ever since they have been boasting and bragging of 'victory'. Today, more than 10 years later, the hidden truth has come to light in several books written by those involved in the 1956 aggression."

Biswanath Mukerjee, who was in Cairo at the time of the Israeli attack, described in an article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of June 30 his conversations with Arabs from different walks of life and gave his own solution to the problem. He wrote: "To an Arab, the state of Palestine was won for the Jews by British force; then came a reign of terror. Out of a population of 7,000,000 before 1947, only 7 per cent. were Jews and only 2 per cent of the land was Jewish-owned. As a result of persecution and oppression, the figures in 1947 was 33 per cent Jews

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and 6 per cent. Jewish-owned land. For the Arabs, this persecution still continues for they are faced with one million refugees. Arabs exiled from their homeland, and 200,000 still left in 'occupied Palestine' but treated as second class citizens in their own country. The Arabs angrily question the Jew's right to claim a land as their own simply because 2,000 years ago their ancestors owned it.

"The Arabs are opposed to the Zionist movement, although not to the Jews as individuals. They claim that it is an aggressive and sectarian movement, which cuts across all national, cultural and traditiona loyalties."

An Indian authority on West Asia and Africa, Anirudha Gupta of New Delhi, squarely joined issue with a *Times of India* editorial which had called Israeli aggression "defensive". Gupta went on to add:

"To describe the bombing of Cairo and other Arab cities which resulted in the present war as defensive action is to verge on absurdity. Further, the manner in which the Israelis attacked the UNEF, killing our men on the spot, does not show innocence but vindictiveness. The only lesson one can draw from the incident is that, angered by our attitude, the Israelis deliberately committed an act of aggression against the UN and against us, in particular. Those who have, like you, the country's interest at heart may perhaps do well to learn this simple lesson.

"You say, on the one hand, that the U.A.R.'s sovereignty over the Gulf of Aqaba has yet to be proved, and on the other, you suggest that in demanding the withdrawal of UNEF and in closing the gulf 'Cairo was guilty of an act of aggression.' This is bad argument. First, so long as U.A.R.'s position vis-a-vis the gulf is not certain, one can neither justify nor accuse Cairo. For that, one should wait for a more mature opinion than yours. It seems U Thant at least had no doubt about U.A.R.'s sovereignty when he accepted the demand for the withdrawal of UNEF.

"As regards the closing of the gulf, no direct clash had taken place before Israel decided to make the first attack. No tenet of international law can uphold the Israeli behaviour. Indeed, as one studies Israel's past behaviour, one cannot avoid the impression that all along it has tried to act like a policemen to teach the 'savage' Arabs the laws of civilisation. Such superior behaviour does not, surely, contribute to peaceful co-existence.

"You suggest that India's policy is based on the hope that this way her stand in relation to Kashmir would be supported by the Arabs. If one has to seek motives, then one must look for them in India's economic stakes in the Arab world. But our policies are based on our past achievements, and our close friendship with the U.A.R. has been a part of those achievements.

"You are afraid that our present stand would wreck our image abroad; image in whose eyes? Those of the U.S. and Britain, and perhaps Israel? On the other hand, after a long time the world has begun to

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realise that we also exist. Both the U.A.R. and Syria have asked us to look after their interests in the USA and the UK, Kosygin consults us to know better the situation in West Asia, our posture has raised our prestige in the Afro-Asian camp, and even Eshkol must write to us to explain his conduct. You call all this as 'exhibition of amateurishness.' On the contary, this is the first time in the post-Nehru era that India has reason to feel exhilarated rather than ashamed."

In a scholarly examination of the historical factors which led to the partition of Palestine, Mr. S.S. Akbari of Madras, in letter in *The Hindu* of June 6, exposed imperialist machinations behind the creation of Israel. In 1917 Lord Balfour's declaration in favour of forming a Jewish settlement in Palestine was made in order 'to protect the approaches to the Suez Canal and to have a land route to India.' Mr. S.S. Akbari wrote thus: "The fanatic ultra-communal Zionist organisation based in Vienna took up the cause of an exclusively Jewish State in Palestine under such leaders as Theodor Herzl and Vladimir Jabotinsky. Then the U.S. stepped in with its Jews and its dollars to nurse a loyal Jewish State in the Middle East to protect its oil interests and global strategy. To this day, Israel is a protege of Western imperial and financial interests and acts as their foothold in the strategic Middle East.

"Are these facts not diametrically opposed to India's ideals of secularism, democracy, anti-colonialism, non-alignment, and sovereignty for the Asian people? The Zionist organisation poured nearly 600,000 Jews up to 1946 from Germany and other countries into Palestine, and nearly a million and a half since then. Their terrorist organisations launched ruthless violence upon the native Arabs and one million Arabs made panic flight from their homes in Palestine. Is there not a parallel between Israel and Pakistan? Is this not opposed to our ideal of non-violence, tolerance and the inviolable rights of the people in their own land? The hotly contested U.N. resolution of November 29, 1947, passed under American pressure (the only claim of Israel to statehood) gave a much smaller area of Palestine to the Jews, which was since extended by them in their war with the Arabs to include the port of Eilath and other areas. If some zealous Buddhist groups from East Asia were to forcibly carve out a Buddhist State around their holy places of Sarnath and Both Gaya, would the Indian people ever tire of ending this intrusion upon their soil?

"Even a tiro in statesmanship and diplomacy would see that sheer self-interest demands that India cultivate closer relations with the Arab countries even at the cost of Israel's friendship. 'Israel is a tiny speck in the vast Arab sea and 2,000 miles away from us, with a small population of two and a half million and an area of 7,993 square miles. Whereas there are 17 Arab countries with an area of 4,800,000 square miles and a population of nearly a hundred million (some of them are our close neighbours) with immense commercial and political potentialities. What is it then that the Indian supporters of Israel see in common between the wo countries to arouse their sentiments?"

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In a letter to *The Indian Express* of June 8, Anwar Ali of Saharanpur, challenged Frank Moraes's advocacy of Israel's case. Anwar Ali wrote thus:

"Mr. Moraes tries to prove that it is in the permanent national interest of India to placate Isreal and to let down the 13 Arab countries. But he has failed to define or elaborate the scope and extent of India's permanent interests in the Middle East region.

"There can be no two opinions that our foreign policy vis-a-vis Arabs and Isreal should be based upon the permanent interests of India. The acid test of the success or failure of the foreign policy of a country is 'whether the interests of the country have gained or lost,' according to Sardar K.M. Pannikar. The stand taken by the Government of India is logical and serves our best interests. The policy statement of Mr. Chagla not only mirrors the Indian public opinion, it is also wise and prudent but aims at promoting our permanent national interests in the Middle East.

"What are those national interests? Apparently the 13 Arab countries are the best markets for goods—textiles, tea, jute and jute products, electrical appliances, light machinery, cosmetics etc. I would like to cite a few facts which show how the Arab countries have become important for India. The Arab markets are a source of much-needed foreign exchange. In 1965, trade amounting to Rs. 34.5 crores took place between the UAR and India. Now till the year 1967 this trade had touched the level of Rs. 75 crores and there is every possibility that in 1968 it will touch the level of Rs. 100 crores.

"Iraq buys from India jute and jute products, light machinery, electric fans, cycles, diesel machinery etc. to the tune of Rs. 26 lakhs. Apart from this about 35,000 Indians (mostly Hindus) live in Cairo, Baghdad, and other Arabs capitals and are reaping fabulous profits in trade and commerce.

"Kuwait, which is the third biggest country in providing us interest-free loans for our Plans, buys from us consumer goods, light machinery, electrical appliances and textiles worth Rs. 35 crores. Narly 30,000 Indians live there and deal in lucrative business. Further, Kuwait has invested Rs. 100 crores in our different private industries. She has also provided crores of sterling for our foreign exchange reserves. This is all one-way traffic.

"With the Sudan we have a lucrative export business of the order of Rs. 35 crores; and this is also one way. In Saudi Arabia we have also an attractive market for our textile goods and consumer products. In 1966 India sold to the thirteen Arab countries goods worth Rs. 230 crores comprising sewing machines, cycles, fans, mechanical goods, jute products, tea, cosmetics etc. In comparison to this Isreal purchased from us goods worth Rs. 13 lakhs only.

"Now, Arabs are helpful to us in three ways: (a) they provide for us substantial capital for our industries; (b) in Arab countries we have profitable *mandis* for our finished goods yielding much-neeeded foreign

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exchange; (c) in Iraq, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Bahrien, Kuwait, and UAR thousands of Indian businessmen, contractors, doctors, teachers, engineers are engaged in trade, commerce, business and service.

"Politically, it would not be out of place to refresh the memory of the *Operation Vijay* and the substantial and valuable service rendered by the UAR in not letting the Portuguese warships pass through the Suez, thus saving India from a bloody struggle.

"If India wants to play a positive role in world politics she has to plan her foreign policy in such a way as not to offend the Arab conntries. Her geographical position makes this imperative."

India's consistent support and friendship for the Arabs has always enjoyed public endorsement. In the following pages is given a random selection of letters to the editor published in the different newspapers of India.

Mulk Raj Anand had this to say in a letter published in the *Times of India* (Bombay) of July 12:

"After the failure of all resolutions in the U.N. General Aseembly to get a two-thirds majority, there is need for a fresh appraisal of policy on the part of our own people.

"I am inclined to believe, after my recent visit to Arab countries, that most of us suffer from an attitude of self-centredness in regard to many things which happen outside our frontiers. For instance, in their criticism of the Arab stand in regard to the crisis in West Asia, few Indian commentators have shown awareness of the fact that the governments in that part of the world have known imperialist intervention during the last 30 years or so. And while we have tended, either from Gandhian generosity to the enemy, or through sheer apathy, to forget the exploitation of our country under alien rule (there were 23 famines in Bihar under the British and still no wells were dug), Arabs and Africans have not got over their bitter memories of subjugation and conquest.

"The creation of Israel has been followed by two wars in the last 20 years. The West has also not given up its efforts to keep the Arabs divided. The experience of the Africans has not been very different. South Africa defies the U.N. in regard to racial discrimination. The Portuguese keep Angola and Mozambique under their jackboots. The Belgians still fish in the troubled waters of the Congo through Tshombe. The white minority still rules Southern Rhodesia. And South-West Africa is still a protectorate of the man who believes in apartheid.

"The stand taken by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, as well as the Foreign Minister, Chagla, springs from this awareness of world realities. The resilience of our foreign policy, based on non-alignment has been tested in the U.N. No one seems to have questioned our integrity abroad except British and American papers.

"I would like to remind Chagla's critics that his speech was acclaimed in the U.N. Our permanent representative at the U.N. has enjoyed greater influence because of the genuine effort he made to find a just

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formula which might get the support of two-thirds of the members. How would we Indians feel if Pakistan, newly armed with Patton tanks and American bombers, should attack India and the General Assembly refuse to condemn the aggression? Would we not feel aggrieved and bitter as the Arabs feel?

"Our foreign policy has entered on a new phase. Let us not weaken the Government's capacity for initiative by denouncing those who know the danger of fresh hostilities in West Asia in case Israel does not vacate its aggression. Let us keep in view the fact that the Russians are not bluffing, when they support the Arab cause. There is a real danger of a world conflagration in case the West Asian crisis is not solved to the satisfaction of the Arab world, though this does not mean that Isreal need remain unrecognised as a State."

Z.M. Quraishi of Delhi, in an angry letter in *The Times of India* of June 16, rebutted H.V. Kamath's arguments in defence of Israel. Quraishi wrote:

"Mr. Kamath (June 12-13) thinks that 'Nasser has been cut to size.' In fact, Nasser has emerged stronger, as reflected in huge demonstrations all over the Arab World. If the Indian Government is toadying to Nasser, whom is he "toadying to"? Otherwise considerate towards Pakistan, he has suddenly become harsh towards it. He employs ostensible human arguments in defence of Zionism whose essence is: Arabs must squeeze themselves with a view to providing land to those who have been persecuted by the Nazis. Will he agree to give out a piece of Rajasthan to gypsies, who according to a view, were originally Rajputs? How about adding a dimension to the Chandigrah tangle by recognising the claims of Dravidas who are persecuted by the extreme heat of Tamilandu?

Prof. Michael Brecher severely criticised India's west Asian policy.* The Indian professors, Baldev Raj Nayar and Yogendra Singh, sent their rejoinders to all those newspapers most of which published Brecher's letter prominently. We reproduce their letter here:

"Professor Michael Brecher's pain and anguish at India's attitude to the Middle East crisis is understandable, but it is a one-sided appraisal of the situation and also misleading in regard to the facts of the case.

"Firstly, whatever the virtues or vices of India's foreign policy orientation in the Middle East, there is an amazing continuity about it from 1947 onwards. It will not do to pin responsibility on the present leadership as against Nehru, who is now supposed to have had a different policy.

"Secondly, like other supporters of Israel, Prof. Brecher refers to principles of international law and justice in relation to that country's right to survive and exist. These supporters of Israel never inquire on

*Prof. Michael Brecher who is the author of political biography of Jawaharlal Nehru and other Books on India, made no secret of his Zionist bias and, in the name of high-sounding principales, compared a secular democracy like India with the theocratic State of Israel. His letter was published in many newspapers.

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what principle of international morality and justice Israel has a right to be there in the first place.

"Thirdly, Prof. Brecher argues that India should side with Israel as against the Arabs. Part of his case rests on the point that India and Israel share the same kind of political framework. But they differ radically in another aspect. While Israel has been founded for a single religious community with 'racial' connotations, India attempts, and we underline the word attempts, to build a secular State in which all religious groups have a share in power and the State itself is not identified with any particular religious group. For India, Israel is based on the same principle as Pakistan is—a State for one religious community alone. India could not be honest with herself if she were to condemn that principle for Pakistan but approve of it in relation to Israel. It is little wonder that among the most vociferous critics of the Indian Government's policy on the Middle East are precisely those fanatic Hindu communal groupings who are hostile to Muslims and want to establish a Hindu State in India.

"Fourthly, Israel claims not only to be the homeland of the Jews in Israel but of the whole Jewry. Pakistan, too, claims to be the protector of Indian Muslims. But could India, with its large minority of Muslims, concede such a principle and expect to survive?

In short, the rhetoric about democracy apart, there is not that much in common between India and Israel to make for a meaningful appreciation of each other."

Some other Indians reacted more spiritedly to Prof. Brecher's attitude.

Upendra Nath Roy, of Matell in Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal, visualised a "socialist union of Middle East" comprising democratic and secular States as the ultimate solution. His letter in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of July 26 said : "Israel, undoubtedly, has a right to exist even though it was created againt the wishes of the Arabs. But she must cease to be an agent of imperialism and recognise the fact that the Suez Canal belongs to Egypt. She must also give up the practice of persecuting the Arabs and driving them out to replace them with Jews and to expand her territories every now and then. The Arabs are rightly opposed to Israel's Zionism. If she adopts secularism and abolishes all discriminating laws (particularly the 'law of return' that guarantees natural and absolute right to the Jews to return to Palestine and to become citizens of Israel) against the Arabs, agree to rehabilitate the Palestine Arab Refugees who wish to return and to compensate those who do not, she will surely win the sympathy of all."

A joint letter to the *Free Press Journal* of July 5 from India's six eminent writers and artistes pleaded for continued support to the Arabs. The writers were Sahir Ludhianvi, Balraj Sahni, Kaifi Azmi, Rajinder Singh Bedi, K. A. Abbas, and Ali Sardar Jafri.

This letter reads thus:

"Our Government's support of the Arab countries arises from our

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historic commitment so stand with the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle for freedom. The freedom of small and weak nations can be preserved only through united struggle against the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"It is now indisputable that Israel started the recent aggression. Both Washington and Moscow had advised Nasser not to fire the first shot—and Nasser firmly stood by his commitment not to do so. Nasser was equally categorical that in no event did the Arabs want a direct confrontation between the USA and the USSR because that would precipitate a world war. But the Israelis started their perfidious aggression in disregard of the world desire for peace. The powerful influences that effectively prevented Nasser from going beyond the brink did not operate on Israel.

"It is the foremost duty of Indian public opinion that, consistent with the tradition of our freedom movement, it must extend full support to our Government and enable it to stand united with the freedom-loving people of Afro-Asia."

On the issues of the Gulf of Aqaba and the withdrawal of the UNEF from UAR territory, Israel had no legal or moral leg to stand on. Expert opinion as well as the reports of the U.N. Secretary-General confirmed it. That an aggressor should be made to disgorge the fruits of aggression was an article of faith with all sections of Indian opinion.

The Indian Press, being nearer the people, was basically pro-Arab. Even in the English newspapers, there were very often discriminating comments. Here is a quick survey of India's Press on the point of Indo-Arab relations.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta) of June 5 said : "The UAR and other Arab States who have rallied under the banner of President Nasser have not threatened Israel with extermination. They only want Israel to live in their midst as a good neighbour and not as Western Powers' stooge." In the course of another editorial comment on June 9, the leading Calcutta daily wrote : ". . .Those who are shrinking from denouncing (Israeli) aggression can hardly be expected to bring in strong pressure on Israel to disgorge the fruits of aggression after the fighting ceases."

Patrika's editorial of June 5 further added thus :

"Like the Bourbons of old, British Tories do not learn or unlearn anything from history. They have not learnt the lesson of Suez. To Lord Avon President Nasser still represents an evil force with which no compromise is possible. The former British Prime Minister has warned his countrymen against the possibility of a nuclear holocaust if the Powers involved adopted the same attitude to Israel today as the Western Powers did towards Czechoslovakia in 1938. What an analogy! To compare Nasserism with Nazism or Nasserite Egypt with Hitlerite Germany, is to part company with sanity.

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The closing of the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping may be a 'cause for war' to Israel but the issue is basically legal and, as such, should be referred to the World Court. It is Israel's intransigence and Britain's and U.S.A.'s support that have turned a legal issue into a *casus belli*. Britain has seized the issue as a Heaven sent opportunity for preserving and strengthening her waning influence in the Middle West, and luckily enough, this time U.S.A.'s help may be available."

It was known to the whole world that the Britishers were not respected in the Arab countries because of their siding with Israel India. was pro-Arab and this was the reason that Britain never liked the Indian jottings.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika of June 7 saw through Anglo-American "pretensions" of neutrality in the West Asian conflict and wrote : "Even though it is open encouragement from the U.S.A. and Britain particularly the latter, which prompted Israel to start the conflagration in the Middle East, her partons have not wasted much time in recognising the danger of pushing their stand to its logical conclusion by lending active military support to their protege. Had this good sense dawned on them earlier and had they been able to strike a really neutral posture from the very outset, it is quite possible that Israel would have thought many times before taking a headlong plunge."

In a subsequent editorial on June 8, this newspaper endorsed India's stand on West Asia and wrote: "In the statement on West Asia in Parliament the Prime Minister called a spade a spade. And why should she not? India would have been false to herself if she had joined Israel's friends in treating the aggressor and the victim of aggression on the same footing. The Prime Minister blamed Israel for having 'escalated' the situation into an 'armed conflict which has now acquired the proportions of a full-scale war."

Referring again to British partiality for Israel, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote : "In his Commons speech Prime Minister Wilson had said : 'One condition of a lasting peace was the recognition that Israel has the right to live.' He allowed himself to forget that the trouble in West Asia originated not from any desire on the part of the Arab States to obliterate Israel, but from certain wrong actions committed by Israel which again led to the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. It is the shipping rights that have turned into the crucial issue. All this talk about obliteration of Israel is only intended to draw sympathy for a small State which gave affront to her neighbours by openly welcoming the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean."

On the following day (June 9), the *Patrika* exposed the role of U.S. and U.K. in first abetting and then condoning Israeli "aggression." The editorial read thus: "When Japan invaded Manchuria in the thirties the League of Nations set up a commission headed by Lord Lytton to determine who—China or Japan—was the aggressor. Within hours of the outbreak of fighting between Finland and the Soviet Union the British dele-

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gate to the League of Nations named the Soviet Union aggressor. The U.S.A. was equally, if not more, prompt in denouncing North Korea as an aggressor when the 38th Parallel was violated in 1949.

"Israel has powerful friends in the Security Council, even as Japan had in the now defunct League of Nations. The Security Council has passed two resolutions in quick succession demanding that Israel and the Arab countries cease all firing and other military activities. . . Those who are shrinking from denouncing aggression can hardly be expected to bring any strong pressure on Israel to disgorge the fruits of aggression after fighting ceases. The Security Council's eagerness to stop hostilities in the Middle East will be appreciated but the two resolutions from a very insecure foundation for any edifice of peace."

Describing the Israeli attack on the Indian contingent of the United Nations Emergency Force as "a ghastly affair" *The Indian Express* (June 9) said :

"New Delhi has done the right thing in sending a strong protest to the Israeli Government apart from bringing the matter to the notice of the Security Council. Tel Aviv would do well to admit its gruesome blunder instead of trying to justify the unjustifiable. To say that it was a blunder is to put the most charitable construction on what happened.

"The Israeli Government, therefore, owes an unconditional apology not only to the Indian Government but also to the people of India."

The *Economic and Political Weekly* of Bombay, in an editorial on July 8, said that the hand of the U.S. was clearly discernible in the voting pattern on the non-aligned nations resolution in the U.S. General Assembly. It said:

"There is no question that the heaviest pressures are being brought to bear on Arab nations. They are now being called upon to recognise Israel, as a pre-condition for an Israeli thaw. What is conveniently forgotten is that it has never occurred to the United States to recognise China; if Washington's argument is that China is an aggressor, there is even more validity to the Arab argument that in West Asia it was international Zionism that was the original aggressor. And if the plea is that Jews had the 'right' to return to Palestine after an absence of 1850 years, surely it can be pleaded with even more justification that the one million Palestinians who are today refugees have an absolute right to return to their homes after an exile of only twenty years."

On June 9, *The Times of India* commented : "Israel has gone out of her way to humiliate the world organisation by repeatedly attacking UNEF forces and inflicting a relatively large number of casualties. India has every right to strongly protest to the UN itself for leaving Indian members of the UNEF in the troubled area for too long."

On June 10, "A political commentator" in *The Economic Times* (Bombay) wrote :

"Fundamentally, there has been nothing wrong either with India's friendship with the Arab countries or her support to the UAR. It is

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forgotten sometimes that our long-term policy of friendship with the Arab world stems out of our common interests and identity of policies and purposes. Both the countries have had a similar background of struggle against imperialism and have faced identical problems in social and economic reconstruction in the post-war era. They came closer together specially after the policy of non-alignment became the sheet-anchor of their foreign policies. Since then, President Nasser has been the torch-bearer of enlightenment and progress in a highly backward area.

"India's response to the crisis has been in harmony with our national interests. The way the war has developed, New Delhi has been genuinely concerned about its repercussions on her West Asian policy. New Delhi has been apprehensive of the consequences of Arab defeat on the forces of progress and national resurgence in the Arab world."

On June 11, in a comment on thc Israeli attack on the Indian contingent of the UNEF, *The Hindustan Times* said : "The Israeli attacks on the Indian contingent serving with UNEF deserve condemnation. Tel Aviv has made matters worse by not even expressing regret. Indian soldiers have helped maintain the peace in the area for ten long years. In these circumstances for them to be strafed and shelled while awaiting embarkation is particularlyr eprehensible."

ON June 13, *The Tribune* carried a special article by Inder Jit, who wrote thus :

"Friendship with the Arab nations is something to be desired and worked for by India at all times. It needs to be fostered and cultivated all the more at a time when reactionary moves are under way to promote pan-Islamism and stimulate an Islamic *bloc*. The U. S. A., which is behind the move, has already got the active co-operation of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Jordan in setting up the Islamic Alliance; Tunisia, Libya and Morocco in the *Maghreb* are not disinclined. But the move for Anglo-American domination of the area through an Islamic Pact has been stoutly opposed by President Nasser . . . India's interest thus lies in backing and supporting President Nasser, who represents the modern progressive forces of secularism."

The *Patriot* (New Delhi) commented on June 13 : "The Pearl Harbour victory that was registered by the Western forces under Israeli camouflage has gone to the heads not only of the puppets in Tel Aviv but also of those who pull their strings in Washington and London. This phase will not last long. Arab anger and Arab determination have achieved new dimensions and will hereafter be expressed to greater purpose and with less fanfare of propaganda."

The *Free Press Journal* (Bombay) said on June 14 : "The Arabs feel rightly that Israel was an imposition on them by the big Powers of the West. Israel is not only, like Pakistan, a state created for a religion but, unlike Pakistan, peopled by immigrants from other areas of the

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world. In the circumstances much of Arab suspicions about Israel are valid.

"It would have been easier for Arabs to accept Israel if Israelis had tried to establish their *bona fides* as a West Asian nation."

The Hindustan Standard in an editorial on July 4 wrote thus :

"Drunk with the heady wine of total military victory and basking in the sunshine of Western patronage Israel seems to be in a particularly nasty mood. The recent pronouncements of its leaders indicate in an unmistakable manner that it could not care less for world opinion. It is by no means anxious to placate the United Nations nor to honour the obligations the membership of the world body enjoins upon it. Tel Aviv is not content with the juicy fruits of its aggression—it wants to humiliate the Arab capitals. What it forgets is that aggression never pays even though it may pay a dividend in the short run."

The *Hindustan Standard* of July 7 was highly disappointed at the failure of the U.N. General Assembly to find a just and lasting solution to the West Asian crisis. It remarked:

"The military success of Israel, which doubtless has been spectacular, is not a factor in the situation at all. To give it some weight would be to put a premium on coercion and aggression—to concede the legitimacy of use of force as a means for resolving international disputes. This distressingly the United Nations has already done and no lasting solution to the West Asian crisis can be found if the grave error be not rectified. The Arab nations cannot be made to talk peace under duress—any settlement imposed on them will only perpetuate tension. First things must come first and in the context of the Arab-Israel conflict the first essential step is unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army. Flames of war would not be wholly extinguished in West Asia if Israel be allowed to retain even one bit of the territory of the Arabs against their will."

A trenchant critic of the Arabs, Nirad Chaudhuri admitted in the course of an article in *The Times of India* (July 15) that anti-imperialism was the common denominator for Indo-Egyptian friendship. He wrote: "In plain words, the pro-Arab policy is one facet of the foreign policy of India since Independence which was shaped at its inception by the strongest of the historical passions bequeathed to the Indian people by the nationalist movement. It was the hatred of European imperialism. The hatred did not disappear with the end of the British empire in India, but retaining its potency led to the creation of the new policy of bringing into existence of a league of anti-imperialist nations, in order to liberate those who were still under European rule and prevent a reassertion of imperialism. Within the general framework of this alliance there was a special relationship between India and Egypt, and this relationship is really the keystone of the whole pro-Arab policy."

Iqbal Singh, reporting from London, wrote in the *Patriot* of June 7: "There is no longer much doubt, even among British commentators, that the responsibility for the first aggressive move lies squarely with Tel Aviv.

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"But a much more important question with sinister implications is now beginning to loom large over the situation—the question of Anglo-American collusion with Israel, going beyond merely indirect encouragement to the point of active incitement of Isreal to go over the brink.

"It was not to be expected that the collusion would this time take the same form as in 1956. But there seems some evidence that fairly explicit assurances were given to Tel Aviv that the Anglo-Americans would hold the ring while Israel force mounted a *blitzrieg* against the UAR to achieve significant strategic gains which would give Tel Aviv substantial bargaining counters in any future parleys.

"This is underlined in most editorials this morning including *The Times*, which suggest that it must be the policy of the US and Britain to intervene on Israeli side if things did not go well with its military plans and to hold a watching brief so long Israeli forces were operating outside its frontiers.

"This explains the refusal of US and British representatives in the Security Council to entertain the Soviet and Indian proposal for a cease-fire call demanding return to the pre-June 5 positions. This contrasts significantly with the line taken by the US and the UK during the Indo-Pakistan conflict less than two years ago."

India's vernacular Press was even more uniformly Pro-Arab. Here are a few examples.

Writing in the Delhi Urdu daily, *Milap*, of June 12, Ranbir said the killing of Indian troops in Gaza was a savage act of vindictiveness. He pointed out that Israel had neither apologised for it nor even acknowledged India's protest.

In a leading article entitled "Treachery of America" another Urdu daily of Delhi, *Mil-o-Milat* wrote on June 20 that the pre-emptive air strike by the Israel was not the sole cause of the Arab debacle on the battlefield. According to the newspaper while the U.S. President, Lyndon Johnson restrained the U.A.R. he did not lift even his little finger to prevent the Israeli attack.

The weekly *Asia* carried in its issue of August 13 an article by Mazhar Sayeed supporting India's West Asia's policy.

The *Al Jamiat* of Delhi in its editorial of June 21 said the part played by India in the Arab-Israeli war was a "glorious chapter in India's history." Referring to the demand that the Arab States should recognise Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal from their territories, the paper said it meant placing a premium on aggression.

The Kanpur daify, *Siyasat Jadid*, in an article published on June 19, examined the policies of the Swatantra Party. It said: "If there was any doubt about the *bona fides* of the Swatantra Party, its support for Israel, which is a military outpost of the U.S., has removed it and unmasked the party's pro-American loyalties. . . If Indira Gandhi did not represent India, did the Swatantra Party, with its support of neo-colonialism and imperialism do so?" The journal also questioned the party's claim to

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speak for the minorities.

It seemed that the Swatantra Party founded by C. Rajagopalachari was betraying India by supporting the attitude of U.S.A towards Israel.

Anand Swarup Jain, writing in the *Nav Bharat Times* of July 13 said that the failure of the U.N. to resolve the West Asian crisis would have a bad effect on the world as a whole.

Mr. Jain clearly pointed it out that.

"India's stand has all along been based on justice, although pressure was put on the Government to change it.

M.L. Sondhi' a young Jan Sangh M.P. angrily shouted "warmonger" when Mr. Chagla was making his first statement on West Asia in the Lok Sabha. When Hiren Mukerjee took exception to the remark, another Jan Sangh member, Hardayal Devgun, said the charge was levelled not against India but against the External Affairs Minister!

The Swatantra Party's N.G. Ranga in the Lok Sabha and Dahyabhai Patel in the Rajya Sabha pleaded for a policy of neutrality which amused Mr. Chagla.

In the following pages are given edited excerpts from the observations made by different members in the Lok Sabha on may 25, 1967.

The statement made by our Minister of External Affairs, M.C. Chagla, is given below:

"The creation of Israel has given rise to tension between Israel and the Arab countries. From time to time, the tension has erupted into incidents of varying degrees of seriousness. After the aggression on the U.A.R. in 1956, a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was set up to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities between Egypt and Israel. The UNEF had contingents supplied by Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sewden and Yugoslavia. Israel has all along refused to let the UNEF be stationed on or enter the Israel side of the border. UNEF, therefore, operated only from the U.A.R. side with the consent of the Government.

"In recent weeks serious tension has developed between Syria and Israel. The Israel Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Chief of Army Staff were quoted as saying that they would teach Syria a severe lesson and even march up to Damascus. At the same time, there were reports of Israeli troop concentrations near the Syrian border. The Syrians, apprehending an imminent attack from Israel, held urgent consultations with the United Arab Republic under the U.A.R.-Syrian Mutual Defence Agreement signed in November 1966.

On May 18, a letter was received by U. Thant from the U.A.R. Foreign Minister asking for the removal of UNEF entirely from U.A.R. territory and the Gaza strip. After again having consultations with the U.N. Advisory Committee on UNEF, the Secretary-General decided to terminate UNEF's presence as requested by the U.A.R.

The Government of India have always supported the UNEF's activities and believe that its presence on the Israeli-U.A.R. border has helped

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in maintaining peace in the area. We would, however, like to state clearly that we appreciate the reasons which have impelled the U.A.R. to ask for the withdrawal of UNEF. When the UNEF was stationed in the U.A.R., it was with the consent of the U.A.R. Government and the UNEF could not continue to remain on U.A.R. territory without that Government's continuing consent.

India could not be a party to any procedure which would make UNEF into an occupation force; nor could the Government of India agree to UNEF's cuntinued presence in U.A.R. in (the) absence of (the) latter's consent, and in any case Indian troops could not remain part of UNEF without (the) U.A.R.'s approval.

This is also in keeping with customary international law, the U.N. General Assembly resolution on the subject and the understanding reached between Dag Hammarskjold, then U.N. Secretary-General, and the U.A.R. Government.

On the question of UNEF's removal, I would like to refer to the reasons given by U Thant, United Nations Secretary-General, in his report dated May 18, 1967, to the U.N. General Assembly. U Thant has said:

"(*a*) The United Nations Emergency Force was introduced into the territory of the United Arab Republic on the basis of an agreement reached in Cairo between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of Egypt and it, therefore, has seemed fully clear to me that since United Arab Republic consent was withdrawn, it was incumbent on the Secretary-General to give orders for the withdrawal of the Force. The consent of the host country is a basic principle with has applied to all United Nations peace-keeping operations.

(*b*) In practical fact, UNEF cannot remain or function without the continuing consent and co-operation of the host country.

(*c*) I have also been influenced by my deep concern to avoid any action which would either compromise or endanger the contingents which make up the force. The United Nations Emergency Force is, after all, a peace-keeping and not an enforcement operation.

(*d*) In the face of the request for the withdrawal of the Force, there seemed to me to be no alternative course of action which could be taken by the Secretary-General, without putting in question the sovereign authority of the Government of the United Arab Republic within its own territory."

The Government of India fully endorses the position taken by the U.N. Secretary General.

"I may here refer to the incident on May 18, 1967, regarding the plane carrying General Inderjit Rikhye, Commander of the UNEF. General Rikhye was flying inside the Gaza strip when two Israeli aircraft buzzed his plane, fired warning shots and tried to force the arecraft to enter Israeli territory over the Mediterranean. General Rikhye refused to be intimidated and proceeded to his destination. We consider this incident

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a highly provocative one. It is, however, understood that the Israeli authorities have conveyed their apologies in this connection to the U.N. authorities. The coolness and courage of this officer, who belongs to our Armed Forces, deserves cammendation.

"On May 18, 1967, the Prime Minister received a verbal message from President Nasser communicated through our Ambassador in Cairo. The message referred to the various statements recently made by the Israeli Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and the Chief of Army Staff, indicating that preparations were being made for an attack on Syria. The message indicated that the Israeli intention was to change the Government in Syria through pressure and even by invasion. In the circumstances, the U.A.R. wanted to declare openly that it would come to Syria's help if the latter was attacked by Israel. U.A.R. had consequently taken necessary measures to deter the Israelis from any aggressive designs against Syria.

"The message added that the U.A.R. was not interested in increasing tensions in the area, but considering their past experience, especially during the Suez crisis, they felt it necessary to take precautions against any possible Israeli attack on an Arab country.

"A reply was sent to President Nasser's message through our Ambassador in Cairo on May 19, 1967. The reply expressed the deep concern of Government of India at the dangerous situation which had developed and our anxiety at the nature of statements recently made by the Israeli leaders. The reply added that we shared with the U.A.R. adherence to the principle that no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another country. We said that we fully appreciated the reasons why the U.A.R. has had to institute precautionary measures. We expressed the hope that peace would be maintained and we noted with gratification that it was not the intention of the U.A.R. to increase tension in the area but that the measures taken were in the interest of preparedness and precaution against a possible attack on an Arab country. This message reiterated the respect and regard which we have for President Nasser personally and for our friendship for the U.A.R.

"On May 21, 1967, the U.N. Secretary-General flew to Cairo for discussions with the U.A.R. leaders.

"News has been received of the U.A.R. decision to close the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping and to other ships carrying strategic goods for Israel. So far as the Government of India is concerned, we have taken the position as far back as 1957, that the Gulf of Aqaba is an inland sea and the entry to the Gulf lies within the territorial waters of the U.A.R. and Saudi Arabia. We adhere to this view.

"I would like to impress on the House the gravity of the hour and the need to be be exceedingly cautious in expressing views in a fast developing situation. The interests of West Asian countries, the interests of India and the interests of the world as a whole make it imperative that there should be peace and stability in this entire area of West Asia. U Thant is

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on a delicate mission. He has the fullest support of the Government of India in his efforts to maintain peace."

N.G. Ranga: The Hon. Minister wanted us to be very cautious, very judicious in dealing with this very important matter. But I fear the Government have not been sufficiently cautious or judicious, judging from the way in which they have rushed to express their opinion approving of what U.A.R. wanted to do, was going to do and has been doing. U.A.R. is not ditectly involved. It was Syria which was directly involved. U.A.R. was only bound to help Syria through a treaty. Just because of our over-anxiety to please U.A.R. there was no justification for Government to have done what they have done. . .

How is it not right for us to have stayed our hands, to have kept silent for some time at least, until the clouds had cleared and U Thant was able to use his goods offices and show some way out of this impassc that has arisen in that particular troubled area?. . .

Does the Hon. Minister not realise that the cause of peace would be much better served by adopting an attitude of neutrality, as they (the Arabs) had done on two occasions, crucial occasions, in our disputes, (with China and Pakistan) rather than one of encouraging and inciting one party to attack the other? I am using the word "attack" advisedly, because of the latest threat held out in regard to the Gulf of Aqaba, and all that it connotes.

M.C. Chagla: I may assure the House that whatever action we have taken is in the interests of the cause of peace. . . For ten years India has made the greatest contribution to the UN Emergency Force. We are proud of it. We have kept the peace between the U.A.R. and Israel; our contribution, as I said, had been the greatest. The force had been commanded by a very gallant officer, Gen. Rikhye, about whom I have already spoken. Why did we take this action? India's position is quite clear. As soon as the U.A.R. withdrew its consent to the stationing of UNEF on its territory, the UNEF had no *locus standi* at all. It would be like an occupation force and we could not be a party to it.

Coming to the Gulf of Aqaba, President Nasser has made it perfectly clear in his message to the Prime Minister and from all that we have heard it is clear that every action that he is taking is precautionaty action.

Resuming after a bout of shouting and counter-shouting between Jan Sangh and Communist members, Chagla added: "I fully understand and appereciate the difference of opinion among the members of the Opposition, I want all of us to be agreed on one thing, and I hope there will be complete unanimity on that, namely, India has always stood for peace; India has always resisted aggression; I want to assure this House that in the action that we have taken, we have tried to avoid war. We have tried to maintain peace and we have tried to bring about a normal situation.

Look at the Gulf of Aqaba. We have been told that we took up a particular attitude in 1957. I have looked into all the aspects and I think

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it is a right view that we took. Even from the point of view of international law, if necessary, I am prepared to satisfy the House on that. But I would not go into it now. But what does President Nasser say? He says that arms are being supplied to Israel. That raises the risk of war. 'I only want to prevent Israeli ships and ships carrying strategic material to Israel from entering the gulf.' He has not stopped this gulf to all shipping. Is not a country which is threatened by aggression entitled to say that? Are we wrong in saying that we support President Nasser to that extent? It is his territorial water. Under the law, he is perfectly entitled to say that 'in the interests of my security I close this gulf.'

My Hon. friend (M.L. Sondhi) asked me about the width of this gulf. It is nine miles. On the one side is U.A.R. and on the other side is Saudi Arabia. Even applying the principle of territorial waters, which is 12 miles for each country, the width is only nine miles between the two countries in this case. U.A.R. says: 'I am threatened; Syria which is my friend and my ally is threatened. Syria, an Arab country, is threatened. Only in order to prevent aggression, I am doing this. I do not want to attack anyone.' Is it wrong then to say that we support President Nasser who is fighting for peace to be maintained in this region?

Therefore, I would appeal to the House, whatever view is expressed, let us not defame our own country. We have never been a war-monger. I feel hurt when an Hon. member says India is a war-mongering country. That is not our tradition. That is not our policy. That is not our history.

Thus assuring the Lok Sabha, Mr. Chagla concluded:

"The Secretary-General has not been in a position to come to any conclusion that Syria or any Arab country is behind these commando raids about which complaint has been made."

Hiren Mukerjee: In view of the peculiarly intransigent attitude of Israel which, as the Foreign Minister has noted, is a creation of certain circumstances and acts only at the dictation and with the patronage and open support of certain Powers like the United States of America and, bandwagoned behind them, the United Kingdom, may I know if, particularly, in view of the very cowardly attack on Gen. Rikhye's plane, our Government is making it plain that we shall not be bamboozled by any kind of pressure into changing those aspects of our foreign policy in relation to West Asia which are categorically imperative of what ought to be done by a country in our position, and whether we are making it clear to President Nasser that we are very definitely with him and U.A.R. in regard to this matter?

Chagla: I give the assurance to this House that in our foreign policy we are neither bamboozled nor pressurised by any Power. Our foreign policy is an independent policy arrived at in the interest of our country.

Uma Nath: It is a strange spectacle, though a logical one, that advocates of alignment so far have suddenly become advocates of non-alignment when this issue has come up . . . Between forces of war, whether directly

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though certain Powers or as instruments of certain Powers, and forces of peace and nationalism and independence, there can be no non-alignment and no neutrality. That has been our consistent position.

Nath Pai: I would like them to very carefully—even now, it is not too late—reflect on the statement that has originated from Moscow, how carefully that statement is couched. The Soviet Union have made it abundantly clear that their first and foremost concern is the preservation of peace. They have, of course, indicated their general support for the Arab cause. No one can deny them that right. Similarly, when you indicate that you are supporting the Arab cause as friends, nobody would object. But there is nothing like that abiding concern for prevention of breakout of hostilities and for preservation of peace in this (Chagla's statement), instead, there are general inanities. Let me now examine how the cause of peace is being furthered in this document. I have marked those paragraphs:

"... We said that we fully appreciate the reasons why the U.A.R. has had to institute precautionary measures..."

This is the *modus operandi;* this is what we say in an explosive situation where the prospects of war or peace depend on what we do as much as on what anybody else does.

Then look at this paragraph where it is said that Nasser conveyed (verbally) his anxiety. He is free as a friend to do that. But Chagla reiterated the allegation against the other side. Did we hear what the other side had to say? Do we know what the other side has to say? No...

Out of fear, we have failed to exercise the sovereign right of India of having a diplomatic mission that every sovereign country in the world has. Let some country be our friend. Let us call all countries our friends...

I would like to ask Chagla if it is not part of our policy to remain friendly with all nations; with some we are more friendly, I agree with you, but here are you adhering to that?

Secondly, did you (Government) take the precaution, before levelling charges against a nation with whom you (Government) do not have diplomatic relations, of finding out their side of the case? Is it being non-aligned, is it furthering the cause of peace? I think we ought to have done something like the USSR which has made its stand abundantly clear. I was extremely impressed by that statement. I do not know if he carefully studied it. First and foremost the USSR says that the breaking out of hostilities in that area will be against the interest of all. We could have at least done that.

Chagla: I am very glad indeed that Nath Pai has referred to the Soviet communique. I have got it here. I will read only one paragraph:

"During the course of the last few weeks a situation is developing in the Middle East which is causing anxiety from the point of view of peace and international security. After the armed attack of Israeli forces on the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic on April 7 this year, the ruling circles of Israel are continuing to increase the atmosphere of military

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psychosis in the country. Leading statesmen, amongst them the Minister of Foreign Affairs Eban, have openly called for the conduction of broad 'puntive' operation of Israel against Syria and inflicting on the latter a 'decisive blow'. The Defence and Foreign Affairs Commission of Knesset (parliament) by its decision of May 9, has empowered the Government to a conduct military operations against Syria. The Israeli forces which are brought near the borders of Syria have been kept in a state of military preparedness. Military mobilisation has been ordered in the country.

"It is absolutely clear that Israel could not have acted in this manner if there had not been a practical and indirect encouragement of its stand on the part of certain imperialist circles who are trying to re-impose colonial tyranny on the Arab land."

My Honble. friend is accusing me of not showing concern for peace. The Prime Minister has shown her concern for peace in the statement quite clearly. Even in her reply to President Nasser, she has shown her concern for peace. I do not want to read it again but if one thing is clear from these statements, it is our abiding concern for peace. . .

Hem Barua: What pains me is this that the Prime Minister immediately came forward with a statement at a party meeting offering India's support to U.A.R. That is not the way of serving the cause of peace.

R. K. Sinha: At the time of the Indo-Pakistan fighting (in 1965) I was in the U.A.R. as a journalist. . . I have found friendship for India and the Indian stand. Is the Foreign Minister conscious of the fact that Israel was created as part of the pattern of partition of countries in the world? As India was partitioned, as Sudan was partitioned and Egypt was partitioned, in the same fashion Israel was torn (carved out) from the body and flesh of the Arab world? Has the Foreign Minister carefully kept in view the fact that U.A.R. is today facing a continuation of the situation arising out of the Suez Canal aggression in which imperialistic Powers and Israel tried to invade U.A.R.? Has the Foreign Minister taken into consideration that U.A.R. is the only country which is fighting against Muslim communal infiltration which we are fighting in another form in India? Has he also kept in view that U.A.R. is a non-aligned country, a socialist oriented country and one of our best allies in the Arab world? Has he also taken into consideration that in the last summit of the Arab Powers it was President Nasser and Nasser alone who defended the Indian Government's point of view and a pro-Pakistan resolution was defeated?

Chagla: My Honble friend has expressed my views in better language than I can do.

Speaker: That is the charge of the Opposition!

There was a similar, brief discussion in the Rajya Sabha on June 7, following a statement by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who spoke thus:

"Nearly two weeks ago my colleague, the Minister of External Affairs, made a statement in this House giving Government's assessment

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of the explosive situation in West Asia and expressing our deep concern at the developments that were taking place there.

"Since then our efforts in the Security Council as well as outside have been concentrated on counselling moderation and lessening of tension and preservation of peace in that area. Our representative in the Security Council, in consultation with the non-permanent members of the Council and others, made earnest endeavours to formulate a resolution which might be acceptable to the Council. The resolution aimed at supporting the Secretary-General's recommendations contained in his reports to the Council and earnestly appealing to all parties concerned to exercise restraint in order to avoid actions which might aggravate tension. Our Representative met with favourable response and it was hoped that in the next meeting of the Security Council significant progress would be made in this regard.

"While these efforts were still continuing, news came on the morning of May 5, of an outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the U.A.R. and other Arab countries. The Secretary-General of the United Nations made a report to the emergency meeting of the Security Council yesterday, in which he gave an account of various reports by the UNEF Commander and the UN Observes on the UN Truce Supervision Organisation and the Mixed Armistice Commissions, of attacks by Israeli aircraft on U.A.R. and Syrian territory.

"I do not wish to utter harsh words or use strong language, but on the basis of information available, there can be no doubt that Israel has escalated the situation into an armed conflict, which has now acquired the proportion of a full-scale war. If not stopped, this war is likely to expand into a much wider one, drawing into its vortex other countries and developing perhaps into a world war. World peace is in grave peril. Our own national interests are bound up with peace and stability in West Asia.

"In the Security Council we have been making earnest efforts for a cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed forces to the positions they occupied on June 4. We have just now received news that the Security Council has unanimously adopted a simple resolution calling for, as a first step, a cease-fire. Evidently in view of the gravity of the situation a consensus emerged in the Council in favour of bringing about immediate cease-fire leaving other steps to be taken later. This is a hopeful development. However, the resolution does not mean that troops are to withdraw to positions as on June 4. Our Representative in the Council has stated our position and this matter of withdrawal will necessarily have to be taken up in the Council without delay."

Dahyabhai V. Patel: Why do you not follow your own instructions? You observe neutrality here. Why do you take a partisan attitude?

Chagla: May I say a word about neutrality of which my friend, Patel, is very fond? India has never been neutral. It does not believe in neutrality. It believes in non-alignment. Throughout our history we have passed

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judgments. We have stood up for causes. Look at our history. And if I am going to be asked today that India should fold up its tent and retire into isolation, I say that would be a bad day for our country.

Now, as regards the question of annihilation of Israel let us say this. President Nasser made it prefectly clear that he will not take the first step aganinst Israel, that he will not start aggression. But he said if Israel started aggression, it will be a war to the finish, and I agree he used the words "Israel will be annihilated." But he made it perfectly clear—you can read all his statements—that he did not want to start the war, that he did not want to start the conflict . . .

M. Ruthnaswamy : What about his previous utterances?

Dahyabhai Patel : And what about his action?

Chagla : May I finish? As regards the existence of Israel, we have recognised Israel. They have a Consulate in Bombay. And there can be no question about our attitude as far as the existence of Israel is concerned.

Dahyabhai Patel : The position is this. The United Nations Peace Force was there and they were asked to go away. By whom? By the U.A.R. The force of peace was asked to leave and leave Israel open to aggression. President Nasser vowed to exterminate, to eliminate this little State of Israel which has been standing up against the aggression. What did we do when Pakistan threatened? We took the offensive because offence is the best mode of defence. How can you blame Israel?

Several members : No, no.

Chagla : I wish Dahyabhai Patel's indignation was directed against the right country and the country that is to blame. He has not said one word—the House will notice—condemning Israel for what was done to our fellow countrymen. Now, Sir, as regards Israeli aggression, here is a piece of evidence which Dahyabhai Patel will digest in his more sober moments. This is from the *Indian Express* (June 9) :

"Israel has officially admitted that it fired the first shot in the Arab-Israel conflict, now in its fourth day. Israel's Ambassador in London, Mr. Aharon Renez, in his talk at a meeting of British MP's of all political persuasions last night made no excuses for the Israeli offensive that plunged West Asia into a calamitous war. He justified the Israeli offensive on the ground that, surrounded as Israel was then, offensive was the only way out for it."

Here is a confession, an admission.

Chagla . I hope Dahyabhai Patel again in his leisure moments will read history and find out what happened in 1965 (in Pakistan).

Patel : I have read.

Chagla : As my Hon. friend pointed out, I am surprised and shocked that any Indian and certainly a Member of Parliament should say that we took the offensive against Pakistan.

Some Hon. Members : Shame.

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Patel : He has distorted what I said.

Chagla : I have argued this case in the Security Council and I know the facts. I am prepared to argue it out in five minutes now. Every action of ours was defensive. It was only when the Army of Pakistan was marching towards Chhamb trying to cut our lifeline that we took action against Lahore, purely defensively.

Patel : That is exactly what I said.

Chagla : That is not what Patel said. . .(interruption).

Chagla : As for the Gulf of Aqaba, I have stated in my statement that since 1957, our position is that this is an internal waterway, a coastal sea of Egypt. Right or wrong, that has been our attitude. But let us see what has happened. How is it that Israel got this right of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba? It was after the Suez crisis. Before 1956, no Israeli ship was permitted to pass through the Strait of Tiran and go past Aqaba to the Port of Eilath. It was after the Suez crisis that Isral got this benfit as a result of that aggression. Therefore, that aggression was nat vacated at all.

Sundar Singh Bhandari : Why don't you go back to the year 1949?

Chagla : I do not know whether Israel was better off in 1949.

Sundar Singh Bhandari : How will Israel exist? We have taken the position that Israel should exist.

Chagla : But has she to exist by the fruits of aggression? She has other ports on the Mediterranean. That can hardly be an argument. Now, may I point out that till 1956—many Hon. members do not realise—it before 1956 the Strait of Tiran was not open to Israeli ships. It was only after the Suez aggression and there can be no doubt today that the historical fact is that there was collusion between the United Kingdom, France and Israel to commit this aggression which is known as the Suez crisis.

With regard to the other point made by Bhandari, that the Prime Minister's policy was actuated by repercussions in Pakistan, let me say that it is absolutely untrue. This country does not formulate its foreign policy by considering what the reaction of a particular country might be.

As the External Affairs Minister and before too, I know that whatever India does Pakistan will be hostile to it. So we are not worried about what Pakistan thinks about our action. Do not forget that in 1956 Pakistan did not support the Arab world on the Suez crisis. We stood by the Arab world and today history has proved that we were right and what was done then was a gross injustice to the Arab people.

Now my readers may judge for themselves, that the United Kingdom, U.S.A. and France were responsible for all the aggressive activities against the Arab World. They were surely betraying. U.A.R. and its allies. As a result they were betraying India—the best friend of the Arabs.

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Dicey, the great authority on Constitutional Law, said in his book *Law and Opinion in England,* in 1914. "The ideal of democracy is government for the good of the people, by the people and in accordance with the wish of the people; the idea of collectivism is government for the good of the people by experts or officials who know or think they know what is good for the people better than any non-official person or the mass of the people themselves." All policical parties were unanimous in holding that freedom of speech, and freedcm from arbitrary arrest and detention were the essential characteristics of democracy and safeguards agains authoritarianism. They further agreed that the state had become the means of providing services—not only Armed Forces or the Police but also social services such as education, public health, housing, medical care, insurance against unemployment, old age and widowhood.

In Russia 'economic democracy' had to be brought about by means of a revolution (1917). The Declaration of 1918 described its fundamental aims as follows : "To suppress all exploitation of man by man, to abolish for ever the division of socieiy into classes, ruthlessly to suppress all exploitation in all countries." This spells abolition of private property in land, and in the means of production, and establishment of workers' control over industry.

Sir A. Toynbee, in his *Reith Lectures* (1952), remarked thus : "In the West where Communism has arisen, this new creed was a heresy. It was the Western criticism of the West's failure to live up to her own Christian principles in the economic and social life of this professedly Christian society."

President Roosevelt, by placing freedom from want and freedom from fear side by side with freedom of speech and freedom of worship, imparted to the word freedom a wider signification so as to include social and economic rights of man. These rights are now incorporated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948.

Thus it is evident that democracy survives, in the old sense, in freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention; but in its new and extended sense embraces the whole field of social welfare. In England, democracy took this benevolent form in an evolutionary way.

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The Indian democracy has to be understood and interpreted in the light of these developments. They present the individual in a new light. He or she is no longer one that stands isolated from others like an atom in physics, which combines with other atoms to make a community of nuclear forces.

The individual is an integral part of society. It is by understanding the individual in this wider sense that mutual aid and co-operation are possible not only among individuals but nations *inter se*. That is the way to ensure happiness of all. Peace in the world can be attained only through the principle of collectivism.

Is the Indian democracy living up to the principles enshrined in the Constitution? Abroad, India's part in the restoration and development of goodwill among nations is well known. At home, her sincerity is attested by the large-scale constructional activities in progress in various parts of the country. The Commuuity Projects and National Extension Services have succeeded in arousing the masses from their slumber of centuries. That they are readily co-operating with the official agencies in ameliorating their own lot in the rural areas is demonstrated by statistics. Up to the end of 1954, they contributed in cash, kind and labour Rs. 7·48 crores, while the Government spent Rs 13·48 crores; and 11,886 miles of *kutcha* road and 1,154 miles of *pucca* road came to be constructed in the whole of India. The movement of *Bhoodan, Sampattidan, Shramadan* (gifts of land, wealth and labour) initiated by Shri Vinoba Bhave touched the hearts of the people. It was gradually moulding public opinion. He had received lakhs of acres of land, inculding 150 entire villages in Orissa State.

The philosophy underlying the movement was that those who possess more than they wanted were trustees of the society in respect of what they had above their needs.

The report (Jan. 1955) of the Bharat Sevak Samaj threw a hopeful light on the progress of the social service work in the country. In the course of three years, the Samaj set up active branches in 30 Pradeshas and in 229 out of the total 328 districts in India. Associated with it were 4 social service organizations at the all-India level, and 99 similar organizations at the Pradesh level. Of its 9-point programme, it was concentrating on the undermentioned seven : (*a*) local development works, (*b*) planning and economic information, (*c*) sanitation and health, (*d*) students' and youth camps, (*e*) co-operatives, (*f*) cultural activities, and (*g*) women and child welfare. That proves that there was a will to work the democracy as it was understood.

The elections have shown that our masses are not lacking in political interest. It is true that there is no effective opposition so far; but the past impressive success of Janata Party candidates against the Congress proved to show that the masses had begun to think in the right direction.

All these are mentioned not with a view to glorify the people of India but to indicate that the Leviathan had begun to stir and was setting to move on its own legs. It raised the hope that India would move towards

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the goal of Democratic Socialism inspired by the idea of the common good.

Now I turn to the historical aspects of the subject, involving the consideration of the cultural tradition indigenous to India on which democracy may be founded. I feel as if I am faced with the query, "Can new wine be put in old bottle? Will it not break and the new wine run out?

Indeed, such a query would be highly pertinent at this moment, deriving, as it does, its significance from the famous saying of Lord Jesus. But it appears to me that Lord Jesus himself, were he in India, would not have put the question. He who would affirmativelty said : "I and my Father are one" "I am in my Father, and ye in me and I in you," would put the query only to the Jews, for the reasons to be found in the sequel.

What is culture? It is as easy to ask as it is difficult to answer. The one which readily comes to mind are the words of an early Christian saint, "If not asked, I know; if you ask, I know not." In the words of the *Upanishad*, "It is not understood by those who (say they) understand it; it is understood by those who (say they) understand it not." Some thinkers distinguish Culture from Civilization. Culture denotes how man makes himself and Civilization, how he makes the world around him. Culture in this sense, may be equated with Tradition which a man born into it unconsciously imbibes, and which shapes his sense of values.

In his book *Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines* Rene Guenon says : "Hindu unity rests entirely on the acknowledgement of a certain tradition which also embraces social order. . .the tradition in question is in no wise a religious one as in Islam, but in a more purely intellectual and especially a metaphsiycal tradition. . .mataphysics, being of the universal order is thereby essentially supra-individual. . .even circumstances of time and space. . .can only affect the outward expression but not the essence of the doctrine. . .supra-individual is supra-rational order. . .which does not in any way mean the irrational; metaphysics cannot contradict reason, but it stands above reason. . .that is the difference between metaphysics and what generally goes by the name of philosophy in the West." Holmes says, "Western thought has, from the beginning of things allowed itself to be dominated by the ideas of the average man. . .It is to the genius of one small nation that the West owes, for good or for evil, its spiritual standpoint. Jehova, the God of Israel, is accepted as the Lord Paramount of the Universe by the greater part of the Western world. . .The genius of Israel was essentially practical. . .For he had no philosophy, in the deeper sense of the word, to sustain him. . .His philosophy was of the average man."

What impressess the Hindu are not facts, but ideas. Ideas are above the limitations of space and time. They can be neither old nor new. If an idea appeals to the Hindu's sense of values, he looks back to see if he has something like it in his own tradition. If he finds a parallel, he does not regard his acquaintance with the idea (which the average man may say is new) as recognition as Plato would say. However, if it is an idea which is not found in his tradition, but is of sound value, then the Hindu adopts it

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as if it had once been in his tradition but somehow got lost. It may be criticised as idealism, but has it made the Hindu less practical? if so how could he have survived the storms and stresses of centuries which were by no means always propitious? Guided by such a tradition the Hindu enters history. A Hindu is the only child of Mother India. He never disowns his Mother.

India's foreign trade goes back to 3000 B.C.; and Will Durant in *Story of Civilization* says that "Europe looked upon the Hindus as experts in almost every line of manufacture". Hegel wrote in his *Philopophy of History:* "India as a land of desire forms an essential element in General History. From the most ancient times onwards, all nations have directed their wishes and longings to gaining access to this land of marvels, the most costly which the earth presents, treasures of nature and *treasures of Wisdom*".

India has always believed in peaceful relation with the world around. The mighty Emperor Ashoka believed in cultural conquest. He sent out spiritual missions to the West, which prepared the soil from which both Christianity and Islam afterwards sprang. Up to the 10th century A.D., Indian missionaries had been going to China. Nevertheless, the spread of Indian culture is said to be 'prehistorical'. Why? Because the diffusion of Indian culure. . .present no political action. . .no foreign conquests. . .

"If democracy means liberty of thought and conscience, equality and brotherhood, can there be any better instance of democratic spirit shown in history than that of India? Democracy is but a form of government—rule by the many as opposed to the rule by one or a few. But whether it is good or evil will be judged by the extent to which it promotes the good of the many, at home and abroad." So said Aristotle. Respect for others' rights is the very basis of democracy; it is supplied by the golden rule. That exists in both negative and positive forms in the Indian tradition also. Of the two, the negative command is easier and more practical, since what is to be eliminated are bad mental states. India believed in reason as a practical guide in life; even scriptural authority is to be subjected to logical analysis. Buddha encouraged rational thinking and detached morality from all connection with deity. Hence *Dharma* stands in its own right as the Ruler of the world. In India this is an important psychological factor which favours the growth of democracy. Our religion is not separated from democratic values.

The question now arises, are there any concrete instances of democratic instances of democractic practice in Indian history? If the same question were to be put to England, what will be the answer? England had been conquered and ruled by the Romans. After them, England embraced Christianity, and remained under the heel of the Vicar of Christ who asserted *plentidudo potestatis:* and when *sacerdotium* was overthrown by *imperium*, the king became the Vicar of God. When the iron of both the heels became intolerable, the English people executed their king. Then there was the effort to discover a new source of power, and that was found in Nature. The Natural Right of man bundled out of the Divine Right of the king and

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Nature expelled God out of the Cosmos. What guided the English in their search for a source of human rights? The thought of Greece and Rome, which underlay the democratic constitution of their city states. These supplied the model for the representative types of national democracies of the modern world.

What was the 'indigenous cultural foundation' in England or France in 1688 and 1789? The psychological factor of revolt against Divine Right was there which on its positive side showed the will to build up democracy on the doctrine of Natural Right; but was there any concrete instance of a sovereign democratic state in their history? No, but the element of democracy existed in the local areas like the 'shires' and 'hundreds'.

Now, let us glance at Indian history. That India had sovereign democratic city states is a well-attested fact. Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*, gives a clear account of democratic republics such as Sakyas, Licchavis, Kolis, Videhas, Mallas, Morias, Mulis, Bhaggas. The judicial and administrative business was carried out in public assemblies in the common mote-hall (*santhagara*). The single chief bore the title of Raja which was something corresponding to the Roman Consul of Greek Archon. References to them occur in the Buddist, Jain, Brahminical and Greek literature. In the *Aitareya Bramhana* (VII. 3. 4) the *Uttar Kurus* and *Madras* are described: "The whole consecrated to Rulership". In the *Shanti parva* of *Mahabharata*, they appear as invincible states in which the rule of equality was observed. The Republics were known as *Jana Rajya* which word is now in vogue with reference to the Indian Republic.

It was on this model that Buddha formed his *Bhikshu Sangha*. Dr. Oldenberg and Dr. Davids were the first to point out that the *Sangha* was founded on democratic principles. In his Hibbert Lectures (1881) Dr. Davids observed: "The Order was a kind of Republic in which all proceedings were settled by resolutions, agreed upon in regular meeting of its members which were held subject to the observance of certain established regulations and the use of certain forms of words. These forms and resolutions passed were called *Kamma-vachas*. In the *Mahavagga* and *Chullavagga* are to be found the rules relating to the forms and resolutions, to be moved in the assembly. There was a rule of quorum. Differences of opinion were resolved by vote of the majority. There were methods prescribed for counting of votes; and voting by ballot was known.

Later on, with the emergence of the idea of *Sarva-Bhauma* (Imperialism) the Republics disappeared as they did in Greece and Rome. But in practice the democratic form of self-government survived in the rural areas. The village communities were the units of local government. South Indian inscriptions of the 10th century indicate that the General Assembly used to divide itself into various committees such as garden committee, tank committee, committee of justice, etc. The mode of election to these committees were also described. There was no prohibition against women being members.

I may also mention certain private arbitration courts known as *Pooga*,

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Shreni and *Kula*. The first was an association of persons drawn from various castes, following different profession. The second was of the type of guilds of horse-dealers, betel-sellers, weavers and shoe-makers. The third was a collection of individuals, related as agnates or cognates.

It is interesting to note that the rural communes survived up to the British times. Elphinstone in his book *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, wrote thus:

"The townships remain entire and are indestructible atoms from the aggregate of which the most extensive Indian empires are composed". He quotes from Metcalfe's report: "They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution . . . but village communities remain the same". These village organizations are revived now by the establishment of *gram-panchayats* and *nyaya panchayats*.

I may, in passing, also refer to the system of land-holding. The tiller of the soil was treated as owner. This was the system (*ryotwari*) where the Muslim influence did not penetrate. The big proprietory zamindaris were created by the Muslim rulers for political purposes. The evidence from the Punjab sheds light on their original nature as well as on the system of self-government that prevailed under the Hindu tradition. There were three classes of land-tenure, *viz.*, *Zamindari*, *Pattidari* and *Bhayyachari*. In the *zamindari* system the village land was absolutely held in common and the whole proceeds of the land were put in a common coffer and divided among the family heads. In the *pattidari*, the land was divided into plots for separate cultivation and enjoyment, subject to re-distribution of plots. In the *bhayyachari*, the land was separately held by exclusive owners. Thus, both the individual and collective forms of ownership were known and practised by the people in accordance with custom. Today we have lost our *Bhayyachari* and *Pattidari* traditions.

On October 28, 1975, the twenty first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was held at New Delhi. White addressing it Prime Minister Indira Gandhi explained the real meanings of democracy in the following words:

"Democracy is not just an ideal or an objective. It is a method through which a country tries to manage its affair. In a developing society, this inevitably means taking measures for social and economic transformation which are bound to upset one section or another. Any system can prevail only so long as it keeps pace with changing conditions and proves its ability to solve the problems of its people. When the majority are struggling for survival, will they tolerate luxury for a few, either material or in the form of licence to do whatever they wish? The essential is to what extent a party or its alternatives can truly reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people. Over the years some democracies have evolved a polarisation in which only two effective parties are active politically. But does a deviation from this rule dilute the essence of democracy? The inability to accede to power by democratic means may lead some parties

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to offer unconstitutional or extra-constitutional challenges. For young democracies, it is imperative to guard against such developments. It then becomes an onerous, if painful, duty to counter them by constitutional remedies. The responsibility for preserving democracy is not confined to the ruling party but devolves equally on the parties of the opposition and the people as a whole.

"Social and economic problems are far more complex today than in the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth when the the theoretical frameworks of Liberalism and Marxism were developed. Even in Britain and the United States there is debate whether the framework of their democracy will withstand the new economic pressures.

"None of us dwells only in one country. We are all citizens of a common humanity. In what is termed a shrinking world, technological, economic and political forces are global, transcending national boundaries. Theories of political organisation and economic management have not wholly caught up with this reality. Some situations are rather puzzling. If there is dust because roads are not tarred or cemented, it is a sign of backwardness. But if the dust comes from factories, it is a sign of progress. If millions of pounds worth of food are destroyed in Europe, it is advanced economic management. But if some of our grains or other foodstuffs are damaged because of lack of resources to build sufficient storage or have refrigeration, it is inefficiency.

"It is because of our long national exprience that India put forward the idea of co-existence. There cannot be harmony without the acceptance of the right of even the smallest nation to follow its own path. But Independence does not mean isolation. We must work for interdependence on the basis of equality to advance the cause of understanding, cooperation and peace. Our age is one of uncertainty. Everywhere there is a searching for fulfilment.

Welcome to India, a strange land and strange not only to those who have come from abroad but even to many who have lived here all their lives. My father, steeped in India's history and culture, spent a lifetime discovering her. India is a world in herself—in space and in time. You can see any one part and because of its vastness consider it the whole, yet it remains only a part. The convergence of centuries and the interplay of the clinging past with transient present and the ever pressing future is even more difficult to comprehend. As there is unity in diversity, so is there slmplicity in our complexity. This simplicity eludes those who cannot think beyond analytical frameworks and pre-conceived notions. Yet impatient with the complexity they tend towards a superficial and oversimplified view of issues and events. We wish not merely to satisfy the creature comforts of our people but to liberate them for creative and contemplative pursuits. We believe, as Mahatma Gandhi taught, that rights flow from duty well done. We believe that the freedom of each man is inseparable from that of his fellow. Inescapably, this implies that within

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his freedom and the bounds of duty he may develop at his own pace and in his own way be different yet suffer no discrimination.

"Through all the ups and downs of our long history, its cycles of fortune and misfortune, its moments of liberty and bondage, we have never been beggared of our spirit which we see as the quintessential humanness of man. We conceive of a society that is in harmony with itself and its environs of a world that is rid of conflict and busied in the great arts of peace. In our world-view all turbulence ends in order, all conflict ends in resolution, all travail ends in tranquillity. And man emerges and lives on for larger purposes. That is our unceasing quest."

If a man fails to do his duty well, democracy will be endangered because he will fail to enjoy his rights. Today we find in India that our people wish to reserve their rights without performing their duties. Rights divorced from duties create a great danger to democracy. Strikes and agitations in India show that our people wish to enjoy their rights but they do not wish to perform their duties as citizens.

On December 31, 1975 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi openly spoke at Kamagata Maru Nagar (near Chandigarh) that the foreign governments were intruding into the affairs of India and because of this reasons grave situations were created in our country. The Prime Minister spoke thus:

"Today our country is facing a grave situation. When some agitations were launched, I was least concerned about them, but when I realised that the agitators were getting encouragement from other countries, I got worried indeed. I had to give thought to this fact that why some foreign powers are encouraging these elements? What these foreign powers wanted to gain? And you know that these elements did not receive ordinary encouragement. A glance at the newspapers or the programmes put out on radio and television networks of these countries would prove that a concerted campaign against India was launched in these countries. In fact, this anti-India tirade started from the day we gained our Independence and it is cotinuing since then. Sometimes it is subdued and sometimes it is intensified.

"Whenever we demonstrate our strength, these powers think that if they would threaten us we would retreat. Hence they try to frighten and threaten us. When we do not retreat and when they see that we have succeeded in achieving our aims, they slightly cool down. But this does not mean that the voices that have been subdued for the time being signify that they have accepted our viewpoint. It does not mean that they want to show real friendship towards India. It only means that they are waiting for an opportunity. If we slip anywhere, they would attack us again. We should understand these things with all their implications. I want to say this with all the emphasis at my command that not only the intelligentsia and the educated people should understand these implications but also the people of our villages and small towns. We should tell our people in every village and in every locality about these dangers, because I feel that our Independence was never before in such grave danger.

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"When we achieved Independence, a chain reaction started. After us many countries in successsion got their Independence and the countries that were ruling others, that were ordering other people around, were perturbed. Yet they could do nothing, Immediately, after Independence we made our contribution in the international field and initiated a new era with the policy of non-alignment—a policy of remaining away from power blocs. We pursued this policy and many other countries followed suit. Before long so many countries adopted this policy that big powers started criticising this move. They branded it as worthless and said that such a policy could not survive in the world of today. They called it day-dreaming. All this was said, yet the policy of non-alignment continued.

'After so many years, these powers have got the opportunity of strengthening their hold and as we grow stronger, they try to use their strength against us and this process would continue in the future also. We must understand this thing fully. I am not required to give proof who these foreign powers are? Now it is for them to provide us proof that they are not doing all these things. If they have the courage, they must prove this to us that their agents are not doing anything against us. They must come forward and say this. They have accepted that they have done all these things in Chile. It is very strange that one day they say they did nothing, the next day they accept that they had done it and ultimately they turn round and say that some other people did it. But after all from where the money came, from where the instigation came, from where the encouragement came, and from where the means of doing all these things came? If they put some dummies in front, will it make any difference?"

Mrs. Indira Gandhi had seen it herself that foreign powers were weakening her government. That is why she said openly:

"We know that tremendous efforts are being made by some foreign powers to destabilise our sub-continent. In some places they succeeded in their efforts and they were hoping that in the month of June 1975 they would also succeed here. How all these things happened here and in our adjoining countries?

Somebody had evolved a pattern, a design, and had a definite plan, and efforts were being made to do something or other in each country according to this plan. What happened in other countries was their concern. Nothing of the type was allowed to happen here."

Today the political conditions in India are very strange. Every man is obsessed with political supremacy. Every leader thinks himself to be a national prophet.

Dev Raj D. Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka and now President of the Indian National Congress (U) said on the eve of the Bangalore session of AICC, that history will determine as whose Congress has adopted a suicidal course, his or that of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's. Of course from the trend of current events, the Congress (I) seems to be enjoying the upper hand.

Mr. Urs had called the meeting of pre-split AICC in the earnest endeavour to reunite the party on well-known principles of the once great

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national organisation. Mrs. Gandhi and all her colleagues, infact all the AICC members at the time of the split were invited without any pre-conditions and with the sincere desire to rise above personalities and prejudices and reunite and revitalise the national organisation as to save the country from various dangers confronting it, and carry ahead the unfinished task of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Devaraj Urs and those who stand by him were ready to forgive and forget the past and begin afresh with a clean state, in response to the call of the nation.

Instead of attending the Bangalore session of Congress, she called the meeting of her own past AICC in New Delhi, on the same day. The motive was quite obvious. Simultaneously, she launched a frese campaign, backed by her well-known resources and baits, to cause fresh defections in the Congress (U). To confuse the people a two-sided propaganda was carried on by Congress (I). But Mrs. Gandhi forgot that all Janata (S) men and women had been active Congress workers or leaders at one time or the other and some of them like Bahuguna, Patnaik and Charan Singh himself have been her colleagues till recently. Simply because they disagreed with Mrs. Gandhi did not make them political pariahs.

Mrs. Gandhi has entered in unholy alliances with the most communal, parochial, and secessionist party of Tamil Nadu, the DMK, whose chief leader and others have been indicted for serious curruption charges. Does it mean the birds of same feather flock together? Mrs. Gandhi and her party are also wooing other communal parties like Muslim League, It had-I-Muslimeen, Majlis Mashwarat and Akali Dal? What sort of secularism is this?

On the other hand Congress (I) joined Janata efforts to dislodge Janata (S) Ministries of U.P. and Orissa.

Urs was only few monshs ago known as the most trusted collegaue of Mrs. Gandhi and virtually her second-in-command. The grand lady of Indian politics broke with Urs for sheer personal reasons and out of vindictiveness, while Urs had to part his compony with her for the sake of basic values of democracy. He fought for principle; she fought for personal power. He was always ready to accept her leader; she wants to be blindly obeyed like a dictator. He wanted to recreate her image of a really democratic leader, after the mania for dictatorship caused a disaster to her, to the Congress and to the country. She wants to be even more ruthless a dictator than she ever was.

Mrs. Gandhi is too much obssessed by her charisma. Without Indira Gandhi, her party is reduced to zero. The Congress (U) remains intact whoever may be its President.

And in one more respect Urs has stolen thunder out of Mrs. Gandhi. He has lived by his promise and inbused fresh and young blood in his party leadership.

The Congress that now is headed by Urs is a historical failure which despite ups and downs will not survive, but given good leadership and

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determination, also clarity of ideals and dedication of its members, may put it on the political track.

The Congress (U) is not in good shape just now. Urs is not a magician and it will take him some time to strenghten the organisational frame-work of his party and project its true image. All those who have left the party in the past few months are those who were already in league with Mrs. Gandhi and her party. They wanted the so-called unity at Mrs. Gandhi's terms and accept her dictatorship so that they could get position of power and pelf for themselves. Now that under Urs the Party has taken a categorical stand on all issues, they had no place in the party and so have gone out.

This has weakened Congress (U). Congress (U) will not score much in the 1980 poll. On the other hand Congress (I) may disintegrate if Mrs. Gandhi is not at its helm of affairs. People say that Mrs. Gandhi is a danger to democracy but let us wait and see which way the cat jumps.

The people of India are supposed to be politically mature but they are caught in a vicious circle. The ballot box is a strong weapon in their hands. Having suffered so much, they could try to use their vote for their deliverance from corrupt misrule. But they have no options open. Under our system, the candidates are nominated by the calculating and power-seeking leaders. People have no choice in putting up the candidates. They have to choose among the same old rotten lot, because as experience has shown the election is reduced to preferring one corrupt tough over the other man or woman of the same character and calling. Take the candidates of various parties on their personal merit and demerit, you will see that there is hardly any difference. They are the birds of same feather. All of them do not flock together. Almost all are power hungry, fighting election with the aim of getting hundred fold dividend over the "investment" and all the benefits for their kith and kin. Their real commitment is to their 'financers' and those propping up them, and not to the people who are there only to be deceived, jilted and to be certainly betrayed.

There may be some honest candidates too, but they are few and have fewer chances of success. Those whom the luck may favour are unable to organise even a viable opposition not to speak of forming a government. It will be thus seen that the whole atmosphere is vitiated and the whole system has been manipulated through betrayals.

Presently the game of guile talk, treachery and deception is on to once again befool the people. Vote catchers have become more crude than coat catchers. There are three main contenders for India's political power (1) Janata Party (2) Janata (S)-Congress (U) alliance (3) Congress (I).

Congress (I) Chief Indira Gandhi says that since Janata Raj has failed, so she must be again given licence to rule. She promised that she would not impose emergency again, and not be vindictive. She has theratened press censorship and stringent action against those committing crimes against the 'people's interest'. If she were not for dicatorship, there would

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have not been two rival Congress parties and such big Janata parties. 95 per cent Congress men of all hues were ready to accept her leadership in a democratic manner.

Besides, how can Indira claim that her eleven year rule was any better than Janata rule. That period also witnessed record rise in prices, unmatched by development. In Japan (which is known as the worst victim of price rise) prices rose by 90 per cent in those years but this was more than matched by 190 per cent increase in real GNP; that is Japanese became twice prosperous despite price rise. In India prices rose by over 155 per cent in the same period and GNP only by 45 per cent which means we became about fifty percent poorer.

Indira's biggest achievement was breeding high level corruption beyond all limits and in all spheres. She ruled through corruption, and that is what made the job for the successor government very difficult. Each Ministry and Department in the governement of India had powerful cells of corrupt officials loyal to her, who frustrated their new masters at every step. The Janata Party did put some breaks on corruption.

It was in Indira's rule that factionalism and defectionism flourished. Except for shedding crocodile tears she did nothing solid for the poor. The number of extremely poor more than doubled in the meantime. So what better can people expect from her? Then she was famous and people had hopes from Nehru's daughter but now most people know she has burried Nehruism.

Then there is the alliance of ailing conspirator, Charan Singh and opportunist and weak politician Y.B. Chavan, with Raj Narain. They have always been big flops. Their party got crores from middle class businessmen and let them plunder the people. That is the first real cause of 30 per cent price rise, 30 p.c. in eight weeks, an all time and all world record! Now, he blames his predecessors, but everybody knows that he was second big man in the previous regime and it was his budget that caused the hyper inflation and price rise.

This leaves the residuary Janata Party led by Jagjivan Ram campaigned by Morarji and fed by Jana Sangh. It is his fued with Charan Singh and dislike for Indira that has forced Babuji to remain in Janata Party, while his closest associates. Bahuguna and Chand Ram have also left.

The present contenders of power, Indira, Jagjivan Ram and Charan Singh are all too old, too obstinate and too power hungry. The last two are physically also unfit. Indira Gandhi has also her kidney ailment. All of them are in the late evening of life. So,their hunger for political power is unsatiable. It is a sick and old leadership thrust upon us.

All of them think that if they don't get power this time, they will never get another opportunity. Their mad clamour for power should be checked. On the other hand, younger leaders can hope that if they do not make it this time they can make it second time. They have long to live and hence, would not allow the country go to dogs. Given a chance, they would prove more pragmatic as also partiotic, because they have a mark

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to make and reputation to build. Once younger people come to the fore there will be healthy polarisation of political forces and stable foundations of democracy will be built. If a healthy and peaceful "youth revolution" materialises just now, it will arrest a bloody revolution.

The Janata Party invited intellectuals, jurists, professionals and academicians to seek elections to the Lok Sabha so that the nation's politics undergoes a qualitative change. Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee who disclosed this at a press conference in New Delhi, said the response is positive. Among those approached by the party are : Mr. N.A. Palkhiwala, Mr. V.N. Tarkunde, Mr. B.G. Verghese, Mrs. Naintatra Sehgal, Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi and Mr. Kuldip Nayyar. Mr. Palkhiwala is an eminent jurist. He was till recently India's Ambassador in Washington. Mr. Tarkunde is a retired judge of the Bombay High Court and is an eminent jurist. Mr. B.G. Verghese was the former Editor of *the Hindustan Times*. Mrs. Naintara Sehgal is the daughter of Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit. Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi is the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Kuldip Nayyar is the political carrespondent of the Indian Express. He was formerly the Editor of the Delhi edition of *the Statesman*.

Political observers stressed that an intellectual who is not committed is useless as a legislator. Too many intellectuals in Parliament will make a mess of the legislative business.

Mr. Mohan Dharia, former Commerce Minister, has resigned from the Janata Party. Mr. Dharia says he will contest the elections as an independent constituent from his home constituency, Pune.

Babu Jagjivan Ram has received offers from Janata (S), Congress (I) and also Congress to come back to their fold. He has rejected all these offers.

A prominent Congress leader told Prem Bhatia, Editor of *Tribune* that when Babu Jagjivan Ram was approached by a group of senior leaders of Congress to persuade him to return to the parent movement, Babuji's reply was "You cannot make me the Prime Minister, the Jana Sangh can.

The story has a clear moral which is that basis of political alliances in India today has nothing to do with ideologies. There cannot be a more telling case of departure from ideological like-mindedness in the formation of a political alliance than the arrangement under which the Congress, the Janata (S), Mr. Bahuguna's section of the CFD, the CPI, the CPI(M) and heaven alone knows who else, have decided to join together to fight. The mind boggles at the thought of this promiscuity and political polygamy. Mr. Devraj Urs's claim of a positive approach behind the alliance is just the kind of balderdash which has wrecked Indian politicians' credibility. One can see the semblence of a link between the Indian National Congress and Mr. Charan Singh if one goes back to the latter's membership of the undivided Congress Party until the mid-sixties. But it is difficult to fathom the reason for his attachment to a free democrocy having been

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adjusted to the CPI's emergency partnership with authoritarian Mrs. Gandhi.

Those from the Janata Party and the Indian National Congress who have lately sought shelter with Mrs. Gandhi have given equal evidence of a new pragmatism. Just take a quick look at those who have recently joined the trek to her parlour and you will see how painstakingly attached they are to ideology. Mr. S.K. Patil, Mr. Virendra Patil, Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia, Mr. Vasantrao Patil and Mr. K. Hanumanathia used to be big names in the undivided Congress. But, the reasons they now put forward for making cause with Mrs. Gandhi are so unconvincing.

Leaders of the Indian National Congress give one the impression of a lack of energy, if not of physical and mental fatigue. Perhaps they themselves are not so sure of their own future.

It is interesting to note that even film stars have joined the political fray. Hindi film industry has floated a political party for contesting the Lok Sabha elections. They called it the National Party. Mr. G.P. Sippy, noted producer and convener of the party announced its formal launching at a news conference in Bombay on September 14.

Another interesting thing is the crisis in the Akali Party which is connected with the poll and the rift between Janata and the Janata (S). The Chief Minister of Punjab, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, has come into conflict with the Akali leadership over the issue of supporting Janata or the Janata (S).

Let us not forget that all of the BLD people have not walked out of Janata Party and betrayed it like Charan Singh and Raj Narain. Men like Piloo Mody and H.P. Patel are still in Janata Party and very much loyal to it.

Tall claims and vociferous speeches did not hide the deep frustration of the leadership of the old gang flaunting a new label. Apart from being jilted by Bahuguna, Lok Dal has suffered two other major setbacks, firstly in Haryana where even Chand Ram's defection failed to dislodge Janata Party Ministry headed by Bhajan Lal, and in Tamilnadu, where Anna-DMK has preferred a poll pact with Janata Party over Lok Dal, despite the fact that Charan Singh's caretaker Ministry has got two Anna-DMK ministers.

Now another factor has emerged that may upset the applecart of Charan Singh. Despite his Guru's advice to control his tongue, Raj Narain apart from making mean attacks on other personalities, made the most unbecoming attack on the late Jawaharlal Nehru.

While Raj Narain was betraying his mean manners in New Delhi and insulting a great dead leader, the Defence Minister in Charan Singh's Cabinet and senior leader of the Congress (U) was telling a mass meeting in the South that only Nehru's progressive economic and political policies offered a panacea for all the ills of the nation and India today needs a leader of Nehru's vision, foresight, grit and dynamism.

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Thus, the very beginning of the old gang up with a new and apparently respectable name and symbol, has proved ominous. It was claimed to be poor peasant's party. But here is the glaring proof of the deception behind this claim. Some poor peasants came from neighbouring U.P. and wanted to meet Chaudhary Sahib the self-proclaimed leader of the Kisans, with the complaint that since they had only small holdings and were really poor peasants and hence, could afford neither tubewells nor even electric or diesel pumping sets, so none of them benefited by diversion of power and diesel oil to rural areas. The only beneficiaries were rich and big farmers. Even middle class were left out.

But the Kisan deputation failed to meet Chaudhary Sahib either at his residence or office. Then they came to the convention venue but were turned back two furlongs away by Raj Narain's Kisan Sammelan toughs. The poor Kisans were dubbed as Indira Gandhi's agents.

What sort of a role Lok Dal can play and what future awaits it is yet to be seen.

Anyway, the present political scene is a concrete proof that our democracy is in danger but it can be averted by unity. How blessed is that word and that idea, so inspiring, so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! If there is any real message to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate, ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. There are those who, looking far, too far, ahead despise talk of nationalism, conceiving that the only worthy citizenship henceforward is citizenship of the world. There are others whose view is precisely opposite, who prefer to think that Indians cannot be united and that a permanent conflict of interests exists, which makes impossible any singleness of consciousness. But, India one nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. This is the land of all of us, to whatever political creed we may belong.

We all know well how serious are the discrepancies and conflicts of tradition and mode of life and thought, and, perhaps most serious, of economic interest; but it is our absolute duty to forge all this diversity into a single comprehensive unity within which there shall be absolute liberty for each composing element, and absolute confidence of justice between them. It is not beyond our power. It is too great, too fine a thing to be impossible. We must be men of faith. Then no mountain of difficulty can fail to be removed. Nationality is by no means too *broad* an ideal for us today. Nor is it too narrow an ideal. Always keep tthe following words in your view: My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people, are my people, whose very soil is dear.

He who has no patriotism is nothing: the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on thin intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people, and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties. Here

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can be no conflict as I am sure that he who most deeply and wisely loves his own country is the very man who will most deeply care for the well-being of mankind. Just as he who, as a child at home, has truly loved his parents and his brothers, becomes thus so rich and true in love that in the world he will care for his brethren, so love of our own people will teach us a wider charity and service far better than any vague, theoretic idealism can. As Harry Emerson Fosdick has said, "No other nation can mean to us what our nation means. Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. But because we feel so deeply about our own land, we understand how other people feel about their lands, and using our patriotism to interpret theirs, we grow, not in bitterness but in understanding and sympathy."

It is the task of a university to encourage deliberately that which by natural process is already coming to pass; and this fusion of culture can be hastened, and guided, and enriched by any university which deeply cares about it. There are curricular changes that would help; there are ways, too, outside the curriculum; but above all, this is a matter of attitude on the part of those who teach. It could never be suggested that between Hindus and Muslims and other communities there should be identity either of thought or of custom. People's vitality must come from the special national source, so the energy and worth of a person must be intimately related to his own religion and tradition. The prevalent attitude of isolation, of intolerance and hostility, should give way completely to the positive desire and effort for mutual understandiug, respect, and co-operation. Those who are working strenuously together for a comman end, whether victory in a game or victory in a war, find that comradeship simply overwhelms every sort of difference. If only it might come to pass that all sections of the Indian people were intent on preserving democracy, and strenuously working together our differences would melt in the heat of its energy.

Indian culture is growing, and now a solid democratic structure is to be made, and will be made the more quickly and securely the stronger our sense of unity becomes. The problem is one of exceptional complexity, and nothing in political history is edequate as model or guide. The different sorts of reconciliation which must be embodied in the minds of Indians demand the calmest, most patient, most disinterested scrutiny. Moreover, this is work for men of comprehensive and accurate knowledge. Again, that attitude when arrived at, will itself be an experiment, and for a considerable time its working, and its bearing upon the various elements composing the body politic, will have to be studied with the same dispassionate care.

The danger to our democracy can be removed if the young blood of India is encouraged to participate in our political institutions.

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13 *Subjugating The Majority*

"India is eager to play the role of a doormat to any aggressor who chooses to wipe his feet on her." Beverley Nichols.

Verdict on India, pp. 252.

After citing Beverley's two lines in his famous socio-political Demography titled *Hindus and Family Planning* Sudhir Hendre writes thus:

"Although the remarks of Beverley Nichols were published before India became independent, the force behind his remarks is equally applicable today. Whatever opinion we have about ourselves, is irrelevent in our dealings with foreign powers. It is what they think 'We are' determines their valuation of our life. In my opinion the foreigners still think of us as a nation divided against itself and lacking homogeniety and willpower to safeguard our freedom, and defend our frontiers.

"Before 1947 the Hindus may not have been in as dominating position in India as they have been or could have been after 1947. But immediately after India became free, nations which were not associated with India before 1947 started fishing in India's troubled waters. The most remarkable instances are that of Pakistan, U.S.S.R. and China. In spite of their protestations of friendship towards India, China drove us out of Tibet, occupied our land across the Himalayas, declared war on India in 1962 and continues to malign us through Press, Radio and in international conferences. Curiously China has not only assumed perrenially hostile posture known against us but entered into Aggression Pact against India with India's enemy, Pakistan. The Russians have adopted different tactics against India under the guise of friendship. The Russians who previously backed India on Kashmir issue have now adopted a tricky posture after embracing Pakistan as their new friend. At Tashkent the Russians have virtually fooled India and benefited Pakistan. Now Russia is supplying arms and ammunition to Pakistan to ruin India. How can this happen?

"India is a land of immense wealth and poor people. Both Russia and China have spent and are spending crores of rupees in corrupting and bribing Indians in all walks of life through the so-called friendship societies and cultural delegations. Result: Indians are engaged in a suicidal infight, a veiled civil war, under the labels of Marxism, socialism, communism and their splintered groups. None of these political parties care for

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the country as a whole. They are ruining the economy, culture and religion of the Hindus in particular and non-Hindus in general.

"The Naxalites who are most violent among all the leftist are murdering the Hindus in Bengal and adjoining areas. Thus the picture of India today in March 1971 does not differ very much from that in 1000 A.D. when the Muslims invaded India or in 1510 when the European colonizers like the Portuguese, the French and the British decended upon India. It is difficult to imagine that unless the Naxalites are encouraged by an anti-Hindu foreign power, why they are openly killing Hindus only? Take the total of all persons, killed and murdered in the civil war in West Bengal. You will discover that 99% of the murdered are Hindus. It is further difficult to imagine that this foreign power or a coalition of two or three foreign powers have such mysterious hold on our Government at Delhi, that Indira Gandhi and the Hindu ministers in her cabinet have consented to remain indifferent to the massacre of the Hindus in West Bengal. The worst tragedy of the situation is that 400 million of Hindus in the rest of India either cannot do anything or do not force our Government to stop this civil war.

"Foreign conspiracies can be perpetrated, helped and assisted by their local agents in India. Pakistan has based its entire anti-Hindu policy on the assumption that the Muslims of India are its fifth column. In the case of Russia and China the Communists, Marxists and Naxalites are their declared, acknowledged and legally recognized secret agents.

"Not to take cognizance or ignore or neglect these well-established facts is neither statesmanship nor accurate evaluation of the last twenty-four years of India's debacle in every field of national and international activity.

"Another very blatant anti-India, anti-Hindu and positively imperialistic and colonial policy of Russia is the hoax of Rupee payment trade. Even the East India Company did not exploit Indian economy so cold-bloodedly as the Russians are doing. In this matter our Government has lost all sense of national pride and has bargained our sovereignty for the pretense of friendship with Russia and the other communist countries. Never a sovereign country lost its economic independence to a foreign country for the myth of Afro-Asian economic co-operation, and Indo-Soviet friendship. To achieve this result the communist countries led by Russia have heavily bribed the policy-makers, journalists and the bureaucrats concerned. We are losing nearly 50% amount on all the import and export trade we are doing with the Russians and their satellites. Russia finds it easier to dictate to India in every detail of all trading done by us with the communist countries. 'If you want to love me you must love my dog' appears to be the motto of Russia. To please Russia we are also pleasing the communist countries, which are colonies, dependencies and acknowledged satellites of Russia. The Russian satellite countries are not super-industrial nations. Only before 25 years they were very small, in-

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consequential political entities under remote control or diplomatic protection of U.K., France or Germany.

"At present economy of all these communist countries is virtually mortgaged to Russia. Alas! We have become serfs of the serfs of Russia.

"I request the people of India to force our most incompetent government to appoint a commission to investigate all matters involving the Rupee payment trade perpetrated by the Russians against India and the Hindus.

"To summarize, I say that Pakistan is our self-declared enemy. China deprived us of vast area of land and made us a laughing stock throughout the world. Russia is secretly sabotaging all our institutions, looting us economically, and deprived us of the fruits of our military victory over Pakistan in 1965.

"It is interesting to note that both China and Russia are helping Pakistan to re-arm her on a gigantic scale. Pakistan has no other declared enemy except India. Thus, both China and Russia want destruction of India, its economy, its political institutions, its religion and culture. As the Hindus are the largest majority in India, the attack is principally against the Hindus. I am willing to accept the position that in so far any foreign power, be it Russia, China, U.K., USA. France or Germany, supplies arms to Pakistan it commits a hostile act against India in general and the Hindus in particular.

"Last but not the least Russia is the self-acknowledged protector of all Arab countries. To please Russia we have to please all Arab countries. Russia is having large number of Muslims in its vast Central Asian colonies, euphemistically called as socialist republics. Russia's foreign policy has many shades of white, gray, dark, pink, yellow, red and black. Therefore indirectly we become influenced, affected and conditioned in so far as we do not act independently in every aspect of our foreign policy."

Although Sudhir Hendre's book is a thesis on India's Family Planning, yet while reviewing it I must call it a book of India's Modern History. The paragraphs that have been cited above are from the seventh chapter of that book. The heading of this chapter *Sinister Foreign Conspiracy to Resubjugate the Hindus of India.*"

Under the present review of the said book I have to cite many portions of it for the benefit of my readers.

In chapter 8 of his book Sudhir Hendre mentions the density of India's population in various states in 1961 and then he says:

"Why the Government of India did not persuade people from highly populated areas to migrate to thinly populated areas? This is a case of gross negligence and pervert self-complacency. Why it is that Kashmiris can buy land in any part of India and non-Kashmiri Indian cannot buy land in Kashmir? Why it is that Nepalis can buy land in any part of India but Indians cannot buy land in Nepal. Why Government of India continues to forbid non-Kashmiri Indians to buy land in Jammu and Kashmir? Thereby the Government of India is firstly discriminating against Indians

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in Kashmir and secondly not allowing Kashmir to be developed by Indians. How politics, demography and sociology are inter-related can be best illustrated by the bankrupt policy of the Government of India especially in Kashmir and generally in other thinly populated states."

"It took about 10 years for the Government of India to genetically murder 6 million Hindu males and females and it cost only 400 crore rupees. Let us consider the cost of the 1st World War for both the warring sides. The total cost of the first world war was $186,33,637,000 to achieve the objective of securing 8,538,315 battle deaths. To secure battle deaths in the second world war, all the victors and the defeated nations had to spend about 130 trillion dollars. To murder 6 million Hindu males and females both Russia and China did not spend even one *rouble*. They make Government of India impose highest taxes in the world on the Hindus of India. The money extracted from the Hindus is re-invested by the Russian and Chinese Hindu stooges to genetically murder as many Hindu males and females as will fall in their secular trap. It may be that part of the expenditure for family planning incurred by the Government of India has been bourne by some foreign Governments like the U.S.A., Canada, U.K. etc. But the benefit of money spent by non-communist Governments in India is being reaped by communist Governments led by Russia and China. Thus the principal beneficiaries of the collapse, atrophy and death of Hinduism will be Russia and China. This is not happening accidentally. This is a well organized plot hidden from th eHindus all over the world under the smokescreen of socialism, secularism and family planning."

We agree with Mr. Sudhir Hendre that the princely families were not drawing annually more than 5 crores from the public exchequer but they were a very potent cultural, religious and social force. They ought to have been preserved even at a higher cost. We know the colossal cost of maintaining the President and Prime Minister, Governors, other ministers, MPs. and MLAs. It goes without saying that the only desire of the secularists in taking away the privy purses of the princely families was to destroy Hinduism and its institutions.

The cost of running all our public sector industries comes a colossal loss of more than 100 crores per annum. "The socialist savages keep mum at this colossal loss," says Hendre who adds further:

"But inspite of constant Russian, Chinese and Muslim interference in our industry, trade, politics, foreign policy, religion and culture, the Hindus still are about to succeed in emerging as a strong modern industrialized nation. Therefore, both Russia and China are frantically arming Pakistan with a view to destroy Hindu-India in a military combat with Pakistan. Thus, Hindus find themselves a majority in India trapped in a historical, demographic, geo-political, economic, military, social and cultural deadlock reduced to the stature of a motionless giant. That is how the internal and external enemies of Hinduism are today at the hight of their mischief, and free to destroy Hinduism without any obstacle. All

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opposition to the internal and external enemies of Hinduism is now branded as communalist reaction. The coalition of the secular Hindu, the Muslim and the Schedule Caste has emerged successfully in the general elections to Parliament in 1971. Woe to the Hindu Majority in Hindustan!"

Speaking of the *Woes of A Majority-Community* in chapter 13 of his book Sudhir Hendre writes thus:

"Today in their own land, the Hindus find themselves in worst trouble in their history. The Muslim rulers imposed a limited tax i.e. *Jiziya* on Hindus who did not embrace Islam. But the Muslims left the means of production in the hands of their Hindu subjects. The European colonizers did not force the Hindus either to embrace Christianity or impose a *Jiziya* on the Hindus. They were more sophisticated empire builders who wanted to profit by trade with India. The Portuguese, the French and the British therefore did not deprive the Hindus of their individual property rights of their means of production. The new rulers of India, part Hindus, part Muslims, part schedule castes and tribes have now started to deprive the Hindus of their property on the one hand and the means of their production on the other hand. This sounds paradoxical but it is true. This is a coalition of self-seeking politicians who are out to ruin India at the instigation of Russia, China and Pan-Islamism.

"Throughout human history we find that it is not always the foreign rulers who ruin the country and the people who have passed under their rule. Very often the local rulers themselves have ruined their own country and their kith and kin either through superstition or ignorance or being under the spell of foreign influences. Having thus ruined themselves they have become easy prey to outsiders' villainous attack, even when on cultural level the outsiders were of inferior stock, civilization and status. Some such thing is happening in India as far as the Hindus are concerned. Although the Hindus are in majority they are required to forget their religion and be persuaded to integrate with hostile Muslims under the so-called secular constitution. Although the Hindus are the majority community, and could have declared India as Hindu state, they are supposed to perennially appease the local Muslims as well those in Pakistan and other countries. Although the Hindus are the wealthy majority community their wealth is now proposed to be confiscated to be re-distributed amongst the Muslims and other non-Hindus. This is being done to placate the socialist Gods in Russia and China and Pan-Islamic gods elsewhere. The Hindus in India have acquired all sorts of skills. The modern Hindu has mastered all modern methods of military warfare as well have installed and are managing well all modern industrial apparatus along with all professions, expertize of trading, banking, and shipping systems. This has aroused considerable envy and jealousy in Russia, China and other neighbouring Islamic countries. Therefore a consistant attempt is being made by our Russian, Chinese and Islamic friends to run us down at every possible stage, in all possible ways. The local unemployed politicians, social workers, artists, journalists, trade

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union leaders who get favours in kind or cash from these foreign Governments are engaged in colossal subversion and sabotage of our state apparatus, our defence services, our cultural and educational institutions and our industrial production, distribution and services."

In his famous book *Indian philosophy* (Vol II) S. Radhakrishna, our ex-president says thus:

"It is a bewildering phenomenon that just when India is ceasing to appear grotesque to Western eyes, she is beginning to appear so to the eyes of her own sons (and daughters). The West tried its best to pursuade India that its philosophy is absurd, its art purile, its poetry uninspired, its religion grotesque and its ethics barbarous. Now that the West is feeling that its judgement is not quite correct, some of us are (unfortunately) insisting that it (the West) was wholly right. While it is true that it is difficult in an age of reflection to push men back into an earlier stage of culture and save them from the dangers of doubt and disturbing power of dialectic (Marxism) we should not forget that we can build better on foundation already laid than by attempting to subsititute a completely new structure of morality, of life and ethics. We cannot (or should not) cut ourselves off from the spring of our life. Philosophical schemes unlike geometrical constructions of our history is the food that we have to absorb on pain of inanition."

At the end of his book Sudhir Hendre says:

"We know that Hinduism collapsed before the armed bands of Muslims who poured in to India between 714 to 1800. We know that Hindu India collapsed before the Portuguese, the French, the British and the Chinese armies. But when the Muslims and the British defeated the Hindu armies and subjugated Hindu India, we found a mental alibi that our Religion and Dharmashashtars had kept us backward, we had no science and no modern knowledge. We olso consoled ourselves with an escapist moth that we had inherited a spiritually noble civilization, culture and we were less concerned with material prosperity. We fooled ourselves with soothing self-complacency which we proudly brandished before the world that our religion was not narrow-minded and we invite, accomodate, house, shelter, feed and protect any and all intruders in India at our cost. The crafty, clever, and materialistic foreigners knew this to be our weakness and all of them joined in the chorus of praising us for our spiritual leadership of the world; while they continued secretly and diplomatically to divest us of our wealth, property, land, trade, industry and professions. Although we knew this led to Pakistan, we deluded ourselves again with our vain-glorious generosity and said to those minorities in India in 1947-1950: "We know yon are a minority of 10%. We know that we are a majority of 85%. But we will protect you at our cost. We will give you veto-power over our destiny." This is the crux of secularism. This was imposed on us by the internal and external enemies of India. Therefore the Hindus must scrap and remove secularism from our Constitution to capture the state apparatus from the hands of non-Hindus."

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On page 75 of his book Sudhir Hendre gives us a very important fact of history. He writes thus:

"When Ashok Sen was Law Minister of India, he had directed the secretary of his law department to amend the Shariat Act and make it equal with the other laws of the land. He even suggested appointment of a Special Law Commission for the purpose if it was necessary to give the Muslims an opportunity of being heard. When Dr. Zakir Hussain who was Vice-President of India, came to know of this proposal he immediately approached Prime Minister Nehru and President Radhakrishnan and prevailed upon them to drop this proposal. Even among the Muslims there is great agitation to amend the Shariat. Muslim women want their husbands to have only one wife i.e. abolish polygamy. But the obscurantist section of the Muslims do not want the Shariat Act to be amended or abolished because in the polygamy of the Muslims male they see that the Muslim can have more wives than all other non-Muslim males in India. This helps the Muslims to increase their population faster. It also satisfies the Muslim male by flattering him into believing that no non-Muslim male in India can have as many wives as himself, that the India Penal Code absolves him from all provisions which punishes and fines all non-Muslim males in India if they marry more than only one wife."

By pampering the Muslims our government is surely neglecting and betraying the Hindus.

You can see a highly accurate appraisal of Hinduism made by the contemporary American scholars in the Encyclopedia Americana. "Although Hinduism is a religion, it is much more. It includes, not only theology, but also social institutions, a legal tradition, a vast body of literature and art, some science, and a great and varied mass of philosophy. The promotion of such reforms as have been mentioned does not mean that Hinduism is moribund (dying), it only means that theological and social change is taking place. Of these two, social change is the more provocative and the more conspicuous. Hinduism has always been tolerant of varying theological dogmas and intellectual contradictions, which have been able to live side by side in comparative placidity (undisturbed peace). But intolerance in matters of social practice has been characteristic of the Hindu way of life and reformation of social institutions has usually been especially difficult. But even in the case of social reform today, the great encompassing frame of Hinduism seems unshaken and though subject to some alteration, capable of enduring into a long future."

Sudhir Hendre further says:

"The secularists in India are a lot of brain-washed individuals who have mortgaged their brains and souls to Moscow and Peking. Secularism was imposed upon the Hindus in India by Nehru, the timid Fabian, the confused progressive and the pseudo-modernist who thought that Hinduism could be trampled upon, extinguished, exterminated and obliterated to make way for paganism and nihilism symboilzed by Russian socialism. Hinduism is a religion 6000 years old and it has withstood better and

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worst tyrants than Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Read speeches of Nehru and Indira Gandhi and you will find 50% of their contents are devoted to defame the Hindus and Hinduism on some pretexts or the other. Therefore the Hindus have to save Hinduism from the secularists led by the Nehru dynasty which has become the self-sold slaves of Russia, and mortgaged the foreign policy, economic policy and cultural heritage of Hindustan to Russia, China and Pan-Islam.

"It is the tragedy of the Hindu Ethos that Caste Hindus are playing in the hands of Russia. The aim of all foreign conquest is to destory the national elite of the country to be conquered. The Hindus are the only national elite in India. If therefore the will-power of the Hindus is destroyed, the Hindus will be converted into worms which will never turn against Russia. To achive this nefarious aim of Russia our Central Government has launched threefold attack on the Hindus (1) Destory the Hindus through family planning (2) Take away their wealth through nationalisation of the property and means of production in the Hand of the Hindus (3) Obliterate the Hindu ethos through secularism. All these three aims are being achieved through the smokescreen of the sham constitution.

"Therefore the Hindus who are living in foreign lands are confused about what is happening in India. Thus any friendly relationship between the Hindus in India and outside India has become impossible. Take the instance of Nepal. Nepal is a Hindu nation wherein live 89% of Nepali Hindus. Nepal is also a neighbour of India and India is supposed to be responsible for the defence and foreign policy of Nepal. But the Russian Agents in Indian Bureaucracy and the Chinese Agents in Nepalese Bureaucracy are finding ways and means to destory Indo-Nepalese Friendship."

In the light of these words, Sudhir Hendre feels that the Hindus of India have been betrayed by our present Government.

Our politicians have failed to understand that Russia and China do not want our country to become a powerful rival to their international ambitions. Therefore, they continue to prejudice our people against the efficiency of our private sector which happens to be dominated by the Hindus. On the other hand our Muslim neighbours and other so-called neutral Muslim countries do not want the Hindu industry, trade, commerce and a host of professional skills to overtake their internal growth. The Rabat Conference and the demonstrations by the Indian Muslims of their deeprooted solidarity with Pan-Islamism have proved beyond doubt that the Indian Muslims do not owe allegiance to India. How can the Hindus have a strong nation while this cancer corrodes our body politic from within?

The Hindus were unquestioned masters and sole occupants of the land historically known as Bharatwarsha or Arya-warta around 7000 A.D. and known as Hindustan afterwards till 1947.

"The First Arab-Muslim conquest of Sind took place in the year 712 and major Muslim invasions of India started in 999 A.D. It took the Hindus

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to lose major portion of Indian territory about 1250 years to Muslims permanently and irrevocably, in the shape of Pakistan. If during this long period of 1250 years the Hindus were to unite in a movement of Pan-Hinduism and fighting to the last as desparately and fanatically as possible for a religious group, Pakistan would not have been the fact of history in 1947.

"The Hindus were never and could not become a cohesive, united and homogenous society even up to 1857. In reality the Muslim challenge was religious. The Hindus must have repulsed it or defeated it or nullified it only by an equally fanatic religious response to the challenge. This did not happen because the Hindus did not become a religiously united people during the last theirteen centuries."

Since 1948 the Government of India has been blaming the Hindus for their cultural organizations RSS and their political parties Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha.

The Hindus have been brainwashed by the Congress. If they do not unite and prevent further disintegration of their motherland, they will be doomed for ever.

"The chronological order in which the Hindus have been deprived of 365,529 square miles of their motherland by the Islam is an eternal warning to the Hindus to remain vigilant. Those who advocate integration of Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan minus Pakistan are playing with fire. The tragedy of the Hindus did not stop in 1947. Pakistan has declared Bhutto's thousand year's war on the Hindus of India. While India did not drive all Muslims out of India, Pakistan has driven out all Hindus and is still driving out all Hindus, Christians, Schedule castes and tribes out of Pakistan. These unfortunate refugees have nowhere to go except to India."

The deeper tragedy of India's geography, history and demography lies in the Muslims of India being claimed and looked upon as its fifth column by Pakistan.

If it is not betrayal, what name will you give to it?

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Billions of dollars are squandered not for the progress of mankind (as these foundations proclaimed) but for furthering the interests of U.S. imperialists in India.

A wealth of evidence has recently been brought to light by the Bombay weekly *Blitz* on the secret liaison between the top echelons of the Home Ministry's bureaucracy and the Ford Foundation. The journal rather interestingly revealed how the Ford Foundation had established a stranglehold on Indian administrative machinery, particulary the Home Ministry, whose bureaucrats had been sent abroad with fabulous sums for traval and study in America, West Germany and other strong holds of America in the West. These travellers had been brainwashed to serve the interests of American monopoly capital.

That the Ford Foundation has virtual stranglehold over Indian administrative system, has been exposed by an otherwise minor development in the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), which is being subsidised by both the Indian Government and the Ford Foundation.

IIPA is an academic institution that was set up in Delhi, in the late 50's, following the Appleby report to study and suggest changes in Indian administrative system; but it is completely dominated by the 'ICS sharks' and 'IAS frys', in the Home Ministry and the local representative of the Ford Foundation; so much so when IIPA's Director, Dr. J.N. Khosla, retired recently, the Home Ministry bureaucrats imposed one of their Deputy Secretaries in the vacancy.

The Government of India gives an annual grant of around Rs. 10 lakhs to IIPA; but one million dollars have so far been given by the Foundation to the same. The purpose of this aid was to develop the IIPA faculty and provide fellowships and study tours abroad, particularly in the United States, for key Indian personnel.

People who utilised the For Foundation grants for travel and study abroad in the U S., West Germany, the U.K., France and Japan (incidentally, the location of study points constitutes round the world trips) were from the Home Ministry, Government of India.

More significantly, they were drawn from the Police Border Security Forces Training Division and other key sectors. They included quite a few of the top brass like L.P. Singh, Secretary of the Union Home Ministry; N.K. Mukerji, Additional Secretary Union Home Ministry; T.P. Singh, Secretary, Union Finance Ministry.

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Dhananjaya Singh in his famous book *An Octopus Over India* writes thus :

"The Ford Foundation is not interested in improvement of Indian administration for its own sake, it also finances the Research Institute of Communist Affairs at Columbia University in the U.S.A. The institute specialises in preparing various inspired material which are used by the C.I.A., the U.S. Information Agency and other U.S. Government bodies. They are engaged in ideological sabotage and propaganda against the socialist states and the newly emerging nations. The Institute runs a school with trains 'specialists' in the field of anti-Communist propaganda. Under the guidance of their director, Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, who adheres to extremely various reactionary views, the staff of the Institute develops various pseudo-theories.

"Among the theoretical fabrications evolved in the Institute is the provocative pseudo-theory of a 'developed society' which sets off the major industrial states against the so-called 'third world', i.e. the young newly developing countries. The institute also 'invented' the pseudo-theory of 'building bridges' aimed at strengthening American influence in the independent and emerging nations as well as the false 'evolution theory' whose aim is to 'erode' and gradually 'transform' first the ideological and then the political and economic structure of the socialist states and the developing countries."

Dhanajay Singh adds further:

"Soon after the establishment of diplomatic relations between U.S.A. and India in 1947, both the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations opened their offices in New Delhi. Of all the American private foundations, the Ford Foundation has the biggest assets amounting to more than $3 billion and next comes the Rockefeller Foundation with assets valued at more than $600 million. According to rough estimates the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, between them have spent more than $ 100 millions in post-independent India.

"In the name of establishing international peace and developing cooperation these two Foundations began to pour their money in the coffers of the Indian Council of World Affairs. 'Goodwill missions' were exchanged. All their expenses of travel and tour to America and India were met by the Ford Foundation. Still another grant of Rs. 3 lakhs was given by the Foundation to conduct a joint research study on Indo-American relations. This study was primarily directed to wean away India from supporting the cause of seating the Communist China in the U.N.O. It was published under the joint authorship of Popali and Talbot. So much unreadable and thoroughly useless was this book that only 400 out of 1,000 copies of this book could be sold. Rest of them are still lying unsold in a dusty corner of Sapru House.

The initiative to open the Indian School of International Studies came from the American sources. Ford and Rockefeller Foundation promised to meet all its expenses at the preliminary stage. Later on, an annual

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grant Rs. 5 lakhs was sanctioned by the Ford Foundation. The Asia Foundation also promised to give financial support. In the beginning most of the professors and Heads of Regional Studies were of American, Canadian, British, Japanese and Australian origin. One of them—Professor G. Bradley—used to secrutinise every Research scholar very carefully before sanctioning his field study to the United States. He went to the extent of appointing his own agents who secretly watched every student of the American department and reported to their boss. On the back-biting of such anti-patriotic Indians the study tours of two students were cancelled. Their careers were thus ruined. They had to pay heavy price for joining the American studies. Students were eucouraged to join the American Studies Department by alluring them with the slogan 'join the American studies and see the World'. Only those students who joined the American Studies were sent abroad for field study. Special emphasis was laid on the study of American diplomacy. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations also donated some money for purchasing books and library equipment from the United States. The Fulbright Travel grants were also given to the students and teachers visiting the United States. Special grants were given to those Indian teachers who went to teach in the American Universities and academic centres of International Studies as visiting professors. One such centre, namely, the Centre for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was founded in 1951 with C.I.A. money, and the following year Max F. Millikan, assistant director of the B.I.A. became its head. From the start, another key figure at the Centre was former OSS man, Walt Whitman Rostow, an economics professor who later on became President Johnson's personal advisor on national security and foreign affairs, as well as his principal link with the intelligence community. In 1964, when the CIA connection was first revealed, MIT airly implied it was a thing of the past. But when it publicly severed the C.I.A. link in 1966 it conceded that the Centre was receiving fifteen to twenty per cent of its budget from C.I.A.

"From the facts detailed in the earlier paras one can easily deduct that in its efforts to retain and strengthen the imperialist system the Ford Foundation and other 'charitable' institutions do not display any genuine concern for the 'progress of humanity'. Whatever they do, is nothing but a propaganda stunt. There is a multitude of irrefutable facts to prove that their 'philanthropy' is not a cure-all for poverty but a dangerous sugar-coated poison. To paraphrase one French author, it would be apt to say that the Ford Foundation will only give a man if it feels that it can make him at least partially dependent.

"Emphasising the pernicious activities of the Ford Foundation, the prominent American economist, Fredeich Lundberg, points out that the 'charitable' poison peddled by the Foundation can only for a certain period of time satisfy the poor and imbue them with a feeling of gratitude towards their 'beneficiaries'. However, this is a purely temporary feeling. The day will come when the peoples of foreign countries will wake up to

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the detrimental effects of the poisonous 'aid provided by the Ford Foundation and will wrathfully reject it."

Wright Oatman, member of the U.S. House of Representatives who had devoted some twenty years of his life to the study of American charitable organisations, also pooh-poohed their claim to be non-profit and philanthropic. He characterised their existence as an epidemic of altruism.

One can ask after all why have the capitalists of the United states, who strive to derive the maximum profits invested vast sums of money, in such a "non-profit" business. Would it not be correct to say that the rapid growth of the foundations and their activities reflect the policies pursued by the United States Administration and the character of the present day imperialist system.

How is it that the greedy, ruthless, capitalist tycoons of the United States whose sole aim is to derive maximum profits from human toil and sweat, invest such colossal sums of money in 'non profit, charitable' foundations? Is it not a fact that private philanthropic societies are a down-right swindle and a convenient means for the multimillionaires to evade taxation? It is a recognised fact that they are becoming a mainstay of the American economic system. Their main aim is not philanthorpy but to increase their fixed capital. Institutions like the Ford Foundation finance only those American and foreign organisations and individuals whose activities present an interest to the powerful Ford Empire and American capitalism in general. Only those bodies and individuals receive grants who directly help the capitalists to derive the maximum profits from their money invested in the sphere of material production. The 'assistance is obvious, but in most cases it is camouflaged. For example, why did the Ford Foundation give Prof. Walt Rostow (University of Texas), a former aide of the US president, a 24,000 dollar grant in July 1961. Because he had made 'A study of the conditions under which the emerging nations can achieve success or suffer a setback on their road to a firm bourgeois democracy.'

About the formation of a new cryptic organisation Mr. Dhananjay Singh says :

"In October 1964, the U.S.A. was considering a proposal to establish a gigantic India-U.S. Foundation based on some 300 million idle American-owned Indian rupees. This was thought to be one of the ways of restoring blocked Indian currency funds to India in a non-inflationary project. As already stated, the idea of this type of foundation originally grew in the 'fertile imagination of Mr. Chester Bowles. He had sounded in 1964 Indian and U.S. officials besides members of the U.S. Congress. Mr. Bowles envisioned the foundation with a 10-member board of directors made up of Indians and Americans.

"On 28 March, 1966 at Washington President Johnson proposed the establishment of a 300 million Indo-American foundation to promote the study of advanced science and encourage research in India. The announce-

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ment was made to mark the visit of Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to the United States."

From time to time patriotic sections of Indian society have been expressing their concern over the expenditure of this U.S. money. They genuinely believe that it has hurt rather than promoted Indian interests —both economic and cultural. It is known to everybody that the prupose of the Foundation is to finance the so-called cultural and educational exchange, to advance science, to encurage research, to develop new teaching techniques in farm and factories, to build libraries and buy books for the teaching of English.

Under the cover of academic exchange the CIA sends students from the U. S. to India, and vice versa to collect intelligence on India. The air tickets of such personnel travelling between the USA and India are purchased by the Indo-US foundation. The libraries of USIS centres are used to indulge in internal politics and bribe the politicians. No better example can be quoted in this connection than the activities of the USIS Centre at Lucknow at the time of the last presidential election in India. It was exposed by an Indian daily *Patriot* dated 4th August, 1969 that the USIS officials were seen running in cars from door to door of the UP politicians to influence them to vote for the Syndicate candidate, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy. Every patriotic Indian must be cautious about such nefarious U.S. activities, if his country's future is not to be mortgaged to a country pursuing the line of monopolists. It must be speedily recognised that the American foundations are fast losing their original character of development assistance. Moreover, the money, which became the material source of their establishment, was earned by America out of those PL-480 exports that had no commercial markets either within the U. S. A. or abroad. At the most, the cost of PL-480 supplies to the U.S.A. might perhaps be stated to be the difference in the cost of shortage and the outright destruction of these surpluses, against the likely benefit to the trade and transportation interests in the U.S.A. It may casually be mentioned that the activity and income of the latter depends to a considerable extent on the continuance of the programme.

One cannot but be appalled at the growing volume of India's indebtedness to the U.S.A. under what many people mistakenly believe to be a purely humanitarian project or almost so.

Moreover, Indians were running some risk because the establishment of the foundation was becoming not only a political but also a psychological issue within the country. No sooner the scheme was made public, prominent educationists and economists were planning to discuss with the Congress President, Mr. Kamaraj the implications of the Indo-American Foundation. The Congress Socialist Forum had adopted a lengthy resolution expressing doubts and misgivings. The group's convener had circulated this resolution among members of the Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party and has asked for an early meeting of the Committee to discuss the issue.

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The group stated : "The issues involved, as we see them, are not so much political as psychological and cultural, affecting deeply the values of Indian life and approach to the development of the country." It added that between PL-480 food and the proposed foundation there was already a wide spectrum of the forms of assistance embracing various aspects of the life of the people which is bound to be reflected in their psychology and approach, in fact, in their whole framework of thinking. "To say this is. . .to focus attention on certain unhealthy effects on our psychology. It is necessary to guard the basic sectors of national life against foreign influences, American or any other, just as we shut out foreign or private enterprise from the strategic fields of our economy." The resolution continued, "If we, as a matter of national policy, do not permit foreign bases on our soil, or foreign army for our defence or foreign experts in our foreign office, we certainly must not allow by the same token foreign influence in the most basic of all sectors of our national life—education." Referring to another important feature of the scheme the resolution stated : "We find stress being laid on 'jointness' as an important feature of this scheme. But what 'jointness' could there be in a foundation in which one side gives and the other side has merely to receive!" With sarcasm it added, "the fact that there would be a joint board of management with equal representation to both sides merely emphasises the generosity of the giver which is bound to prove overwhelming. . .Where the scope for patronage is so wide and comprehensive and the contribution is one-sided, the arguments (given in favour of safeguards against foreign infiltration) are bound to be of theoretical significance only and the possibility of using the funds as we like might in actual practice be very limited." Mentioning the possibility of corruption of Indian intelligentsia the resolution put forward : ". . .it could be realised what influence it would be able to exercise on educational system. The danger was even greater because of the possibility of getting further regular replacement through PL-480 assistance during the next five years. If as stipulated, other foundations come to participate in it, the disposable fund would be increased even further. When such vast sums are available, the temptation to develop on unregulated two-way traffic affecting the intelligentsia is likely to be very great. It has been our deliberate policy to prevent this happening."

In an editorial comment appearing on 30 April 1966 the *Times of India* while calling the responses of the Left-wing "predictably negative," admitted that there were people who were sincerely disturbed by what they apparently considered to be the "danger of US political influence in matters of education." It added :

"It would surely be unjust not to appreciate that a Foundation, with an approximate annual income of Rs. 9 crores and with a board of management of which half its members represent the country on whose generosity the organisation is based, is capable of wielding a considerable influence

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through the world of Indian education. This is a point that hardly needs to be questioned.

Asian Foundation was established in 1954 and soon this new Sen Francisco-based organization began to pour money into many Asian causes. The annual budget ran into millions of dollars spent to win friends for Washington policies. The emphasis was on carrying American ideas to Asia under the name of 'cultural exchanges'.

The Asia Foundation has been closed under government instructions for its anti-Indian activities. This Foundation, said to be one of the main pipelines used by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, disbursed a total amount of over Rs. 24,42,393 to Indian institutions in various fields from 1965 to 1967.

Among the institutions which were first of all exposed for receiving the grants were also the Hind Mazoor Sabha, Bombay; the Indian Press Institute; the Mass Communications Institute, New Delhi; Institute for Asian Studies; and the World Assembly of Youth.

No sooner these exposures were made public in Lok Sabha on 1 May, 1968 there was big uproar followed by the thumping of tables and desks with remarks like "India's honour has been sold so cheap in the hands of a notorious institution"; "Are we merely beggars", "Three hoots for the CIA". When a member from the Government benches tried to pacify the angry Members he was interrupted by cries of 'shame, shame'. Points of order were raised in quick succession when the chair tried to exercise its rulings. When the Minister for External Affairs tried to give an explanation, someone from the opposition benches shouted, "Is this your non-alignment?", "Your intelligence service is a dead, non-functional body of parasites existing on fat salaries".

Details were also given in reply to a question in the House of the disbursement of Rs. 3,41,686 to some 17 jonrnalists, newsmen and the Press Institute of India for various purposes by the Foundation.

In reply to another question, the Minister of State for External Affairs said in written statement that instructed by the Government of India the Foundation was in the process of winding up its office in India. This followed a disclosure and acknowledgement made in a statement in March 1968 by the Asia Foundation that it had accepted funds made available by the CIA. For the Government of India the whole matter had become too 'embarassing.'

A little earlier in March 1968 the question of 'charitable' American institutions was also raised in Indian Parliament. This time, the facus was on Indian education institutes financed by the American foundations that were involved with the CIA. Disclosures of the CIA liaison had provoked a whole gamut of reactions ranging from nonchalance to hypersensitiveness over the implications of the revelations.

A demand for an inquiry into allegations of involvement of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in the Indian School of International Studies was made in the Rajya Sabha on 20 March 1968 by Mr. Bhupesh

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Gupta (CPI) and Mr. Hiren Ghosh (CPM).

Hiren Ghosh alleged that CIA money was flowing into the institution and that the Director of the School was very much connected with Americans. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta asked whether 80 per cent of the books in the School library that were used for the studies, came from the U.S.A.

He wanted to know whether the Education Minister had at any time visited the School and the library or made any inquiries. Why was the Education Ministry not ordering an inquiry into the School's affairs when charges had been made against it more than once in the House?

Education Minister, Triguna Sen, said that he was not concealing any information from members. His only information was that through the Asia Foundation, "an agent of CIA", which had been asked to wind up its activities, the institution got some special type of camera and a scholarship for a woman for studies in Ceylon.

He said the institution was receiving grants from the Government of India and from other foundations.

Mr. Hiren Ghosh : What are those foundations?

Dr. Sen : I have already supplied this information two months ago. One is the Ford Foundation and athers I do not remember now.

The Education Minister further said that the Estimate Committee of Parliament had recently gone into the working of the institution.

Left-wing parties in India expressed their severe concern on the Foundation's connection with the CIA and condemned American 'subversion' of Indian institutions.

In fact the reactions of the parties and politicians to the disclosures had a trace of edginess that was conspicuous by its absence in the institutions which recevied support from the Foundation. For instance, Mr. Raghunath Singh, the former Secy. of the Congress Parliamentary Party, was concerned over the assistance given by the Asia Foundation to our authors demanded a thorough probe after which he wanted the Government to publish the names of the 'guilty' recipients.

According to Dhanajaya Singh the CIA has been accused of :

(a) plotting the assassination of Jawaharlal Nehru.
(b) provoking the 1965 war between India and Pakistan.
(c) engineering the 'plot' that became the pretext for the murder of leading Indonesian generals in 1965
(d) supporting the rightist army plots in Algeria.
(e) murdering Patrice Lumumba in the Congo.
(f) kidnapping Moroccan agents in Paris.
(g) plotting the overthrow of President Kuwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

President Truman in 1963 said : "I never had any thought . . . when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peace-time cloak-and-dagger operations. Some of the complications and embarrassment that I think we have experienced are in part attributable to the fact that this quiet intelligence arm of the President has been so removed from its intended role . . . I would like to see the CIA be restored to its original assignment as the

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intelligence arm of the President . . . There is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic positions, and I feel we need to correct it." Yet, nearly two decades earlier, President Truman himself had set the CIA. in a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds.

In the words of Mr. Dhananjaya Singh, "the CIA is an octopus, with its tentacles spread all over the world." There is hardly any international cultural or literacy organization which has recently not been charged with having been in receipt of the CIA funds. While some have pleaded guilty to the accusation, some others have repudiated it. A new dimension was added to the controversy with the publication in the *New York Times* of a report filed from Delhi, about CIA money having been supplied in sizable quantities to a number of Indian political parties for fighting the Fourth General Election. Commenting on this aspect of the report the *Tribune* wrote an editorial on 17 June 1967.

"If the report is correct, the implications of it would be both obvious and grave. It would mean that leading Indian political parties are both willing and ready to sell themselves to foreign interests and that democracy in this country is either a hoax or a shambles. If the CIA . . . hold Indian parties in fee, the latter, whether in office or opposition, would move to their wire-pulling. Nothing could be more denigrating or derogatory for Indian policies than a general impression abroad that political parties and public men in this land are on sale to foreigners."

Members of Parliament demanded strict check on foreign funds.

On 20 March 1967 the External Affairs Minister told our Lok Sabha that India's Government was determined not to permit funds from any foreign source to influence public bodies in the country. The Govt., he said, would keep a strict check on all foreign money coming to India.

Actually the statement came in response to a volley of questions raised by Members of Parliament. The question which was the first on the list was tabled by Mr. George Fernandes (SSP) and took more than half the question hour for disposal. There was a spate of questions, points of crder, personal explanations and downright denunciations by members from either side of the House. Of special interest was a reference to External Affairs Minister to a *New York Times* report alleging that one of second secretaries of the U.S. Embassy in India was connected with C.I.A. His reference came in reply to a question by Mr. A.K. Gopalan (CPM) when he said that the Government had seen the *New York Times* report and take up the matter promptly with the U.S. Embassy.

Some members, including Mr. Hem Barua (PSP), referred to the departure of the late Russian leader Stalin's daughter from India only a few days earlier and suggested the possibility of its being the work of the CIA.

There were heated exchanges between the opposition and Congress benches when Mr. Madhu Limaye (SSP) and Mr. S.M. Banerjee (CPI) alleged that two Cabinet Ministers were connected with organizations

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which had received CIA funds. The Minister said he was not aware of any such organisation. Explaining the *modus operandi* of the CIA, as reported by U.S. newspapers, he said the funds were apparently channelled through some agencies in the U.S. which gave grants to "unsuspecting public bodies" in their countries. The Government, he said, was investigating the matter and was keen that such funds did not reach any agency in India.

The Minister's reply apparently did not satisfy the opposition members. As several of them were simultaneously trying to put questions, Deputy Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, rose to deny Mr. Limaye's charge that the Youth Congress, an affiliate of the Indian National Congress, was also among the recipients of CIA funds. There were cries of "shame" "shame" from the opposition benches as Mr. Desai rose to intervene in the debate. As the noise subsided, he explained that the youth agency mentioned among the recipients of the CIA funds was called the World Assembly of Youth (WAY). It had a branch in India and was building an International House in New Delhi. He had accepted the chairmanship of the board of trustees of the International House.

Mr. Desai said after he saw newspaper reports implicating the WAY he had asked the managing trustee, Mr. Ramakrishna Bajaj, to ascertain if the Indian branch of the WAY received any money from foreign sources. He was told some funds had been received from Germany and the U.S.A. He had also asked Mr. Bajaj to find out if any money had come from the CIA sources and report.

The then Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh, who was also mentioned by name by an opposition member as having been connected with the Youth Congress, a youth wing of the Indian National Congress, which was allegedly receiving CIA funds, rose on a personal explanation. Some members, notably CPM member Umanath and the Congress member Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha, hinted at the possibility of the rupee counterpart of the PL-480 funds being used in India for subversive purposes. Mrs. Sinha referred in this connection to a statement by former Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, saying a part of the rupee expenditure of the PL-480 funds were not accounted for. There was also made an allegation by some opposition members that PL-480 funds had been spent for defeating about 44 progressive minded candidates during the previous elections. Particularly Mr. H.N. Mukerji (CPI) alleged that the U.S. Embassy maintained a large staff and some of them might be indulging in espionage.

The Minister told Mr. Fernandes in his written reply that U.S. press reports had listed some Indian societies also among the beneficiaries of CIA funds but pointed out "like most recipients elsewhere these Indian bodies innocently accepted funds from international U.S. organisations since they were ignorant of the fact that the U.S. organisations concerned had been financed by the CIA." Replying to questions, the Minister said the Indian bodies listed by news reports included the

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Congress for Cultural Freedom and the International Youth Centre, Delhi, besides the World Assembly of Youth.

On 23 March, 1967 the Foreign Minister promised an agitated Lok Sabha a 'thorough inquiry' into the allegations of the CIA activities in the country.

The Foreign Minister absented himself from a Cabinet meeting to be present in the House when the activities were discussed.

The discussion, which was initiated by a left Communist, Mr. Umanath, saw many surprise turns and twists. The leftist members mentioned several Congressmen as having been associated with the organizations indirectly receiving CIA funds. The Congress members turned part of the fire in the Jan Sangh direction by mentioning a tour of Formosa by Mr. Balraj Madhok. In turn the Jan Sangh tried to widen the discussion by throwing the blame on others.

A left Communist Mr. Umanath named Mr. Lenard Weiss as the Chief of the C.I.A. in India. According to him, Mr. Weiss worked at the American Embassy under the cover of "Minister Counsellor for Political and Economic Affairs".

Mr. Weiss had flown to Bombay when the BPCC was choosing its candidates. To Kashmir, a Second Secretary of the Embassy had been sent and the President of the Pradesh Congress had to complain against foreign influence. He demanded their expulsion from India. Mr. Umanath said CIA's headquarters in India were on the first floor of a building near American Embassy. The radio antennae on the top of the building linked the office with its American headquarters.

In reply, our Foreign Minister made several important announcements. He said that the Govt. of India would be vigilant and see to it that Indians did not accept invitations from foreign organizations without a proper scrutiny. Under a cloak of cultural exchanges programme, people, he said, would not be allowed to be inducted into a political philosophy or a way of life contrary to our principles.

Mr. Umanath also quoted B.M. Kaul as saying in his book *The Untold Story* that the American Ambassador had gone to him (Gen. Kaul) for a discussion on the Chinese invasion in 1962.

Referring to the mode of financing of CIA activities in India, Mr. Umanath quoted the former Finance Minister, Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, as having said that he could not get from the American Embassy an account of some Rs. 87 crores drawn from PL-480 funds. "TTK" had also stated that the American Embassy at one time made a single withdrawal amounting to Rs. 30 crores.

He said that the Indian Government was not able to do anything about CIA activities not only because of the country's "economic dependence" on the U.S.A. but because the CIA had in his opinion put its own men in India's CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation). This was possible because the CBI had collaboration arrangements with the CIA as well as a second American Intelligence Agency known as the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

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tion "with the knowledge of the Indian Government", Mr. Umanath contended.

Mr. Umanath also said the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) was another agency functioning in India which had been listed as the CIA financed.

According to Mr. Umanath the Indian Government was perhaps thinking that "American dollar is the embodiment of Indian patriotism".

Reviewing the political discussion on the CIA funds in Parliament the daily *National Herald* wrote thus : "Some of the most disturbing disclosures about the CIA activities were made five or six weeks ago and a number of Indian names were mentioned then. These should have prompted an official inquiry on the Government's initiative. Had it been made, the Govt. would have been in a better position to face the outcry in and outside Parliament."

The paper criticized the argument advanced by the Foreign Minister, that how could he expect organizations in India to know the source of the CIA money when it was also hidden from American organizations.

Criticizing the approach of the Foreign Minister the paper continued : "Mr. Chagla seems to have suggested a subtle distinction between the use of CIA money for political purposes and its use for other purposes. He says he is not concerned with who or what party is involved, if any country has tried to send money into India or to use money for political purposes, for influencing the elections, and the like, action will certainly be taken. The question will be : What about the use of CIA money to finance so-called cultural, educational and similar innocent-looking activities? Mr. Chagla knows how strong was public feeling against the proposal for an Indo-U.S. Educational Foundation. That project was intended to be financed openly from PL-480 funds, and yet it was fiercely attacked and was eventually dropped. It should be easy to recognise that any project clandestinely financed by the CIA would be open to the greatest possible objection. A further distinction he has attempted to draw is between what he calls purely intelligence work and espionage. This is an unreal distinction. There is no legitimate or permissible intelligence work which in modern conditions does not seek information which each country has a right to regard as vital to its security and integrity."

Mr. Raghunath Singh, former Chairman of the National Shipping Board, said in New Delhi, on 10 May, 1967 it was with a sense of shock that he read the disclosures made by Mr. Braden that Seamen's unions in this country were being financed by CIA. He said that the Government which was already committed to holding an inquiry into the activities of the CIA, should extend the scope of the inquiry to include various other activities of the agency in this country.

He also said that the time had come when the Government of India should reorganize its own intelligence services to counteract the activities of the CIA.

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Vice-President Humbert H. Humphrey, said at Stanford University on 20 February 1967 : "This is one of the saddest time that our government has had, in reference to public policy. My own view is that these organizations ought to be free and independent. I regret that they were unable to be that way. I'm not at all happy about what the CIA has been doing and I'm sure that out of this very singularly disagreeable situation will come a reformation of that agency, with closer supervision of its activities and with recommendations coming to Government of the United States that will confine the CIA to its intelligence gathering purpose, and to keep it from being associated directly or indirectly with organizations and bodies of men and women and young people that are not needed for those purposes."

In 1968 questions were raised in the Indian Parliament over the activities of an American anthropologist conducting "research" in the Himalayan border region on behalf of the Pentagon.

Disclosure of such an event displeased Mr. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On 15 August 1969 he questioned the propriety of Pentagon sponsoring research projects to be carried out in India. He frankly remarked that such activities injured Indo-American relations because "we intrude with Defence Department funds into foreign academic research". He added: "What we are doing is driving friendly countries away from us. They do not wish to be an appendage of the Pentagon. I think they are quite justified. I do not blame them for that."

The issue of CIA cropped up again in the Parliament on 29 May 1967. The Minister for External Affairs told the Lok Sabha that the Central Intelligence Department had been asked to complete its inquiry into the alleged activities of the CIA in India as early as possible.

The Minister, who was replying to P. Ramamurthi, A.K. Gopalan and others stated that the C.I.D. (Central Intelligence Department) had already made some interim reports but these were not complete. He declined to disclose the nature of these reports in public interest.

The Minister had been asked about the recent 'disclosures' made by the American magazine *Ramparts* that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was being used by CIA for its activities.

Mr. Gopalan had asked whether the Government of India had made any inquiries into these reports and if so with what results.

The Minister said that the Government was aware that in its account of CIA involvement in student affairs in the United States, and elsewhere, the U.S. magazine *Ramparts* had indicated that some individuals alleged to be CIA operatives had, at some time or other, been employees of the USAID. He added that the Government of India had already undertaken an inquiry into the use of CIA funds in India. If it was found that any objectionable activities were being carried out by individuals under cover of their official positions, the Government would take appropriate action.

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Asked whether the Government of India would start a counter-intelligence agency to watch the activities of dubious American officials if mischief could be nipped in the bud, the Foreign Minister replied that the House should await the results of the Home Ministry's inquiry into the activities of the CIA and the use of foreign funds. Quite apart from this inquiry, steps were being taken to see that objectionable activities did not take place.

The Minister told Mr. Yajnik that the Government had seen Press reports in which two leaders of East Pakistan had alleged that CIA was conspiring to form a bloc of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam to be called 'Bangasam' as a part of a larger scheme to set up strong air and land bases around India.

There were similar reports in the Pakistan Press in December 1966 and January 1967 about an alleged conspiracy of Western Powers to create a so-called 'United States of Bengal' comprising East Pakistan. West Bengal, Assam, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Sikkim and Bhutan.

On 13 June 1967 some of the daily Indian newspapers published the *New York Times* story that the U.S. CIA had given large sums of money to the Swatantra and Jan Sangh parties and "some money" to the Praja Socialist Party to influence the results of the 1967 General Elections.

Indian Government's failure to find out the exact nature of the functioning of the U.S. Air Force Commission Group Base existing at Badber near Peshawar in Pakistan for the past nine years came under heavy fire in the Rajya Sabha on 3 May 1968 during an hour's discussion raised by Mr. H. C. Mathur (Congress) and three others.

The members were indignant that the base, which according to the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, was used for take-off of the American U-2 aircarft flown by Gary Powers in 1960, was being used for espionage against India.

After the 1962 general elections to the Lok Sabha there appeared a pamphlet entitled, *U.S. Interference in India's Elections*. It was published in Lucknow. It exposed the subversive activities of the CIA. Names of US master spies like Harry Roziske, Jack Curran and a dozen of other such agents engaged in subversion against the Indian people were freely mentioned in this connection.

The pamphlet stated that India's Minister for Internal Affairs had adequate proof of the interference of American spies in the pre-election campaign. The central figure was none other than the First Secretary of the US Embassy in New Delhi, Harry Roziske. He was alleged to be a CIA chief. The Government of India demanded that he leave India immediately.

Harry Roziske was thus forced to leave India. Galbraith was told that if Roziske did not leave, he would be officially declared *persona non-grata* and the affair would touch scandulous heights. Roziske's aide, Cogan, an Embassy's employee,was also sent out with him.

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The famous American magazine, *Time*, dated 2 February 1967 revealed that the United States had spent 2, 400,000 dollars in India. The money was "funneled" to undermine Nehru's world status. He worked for India's non-alignment and had a thorough disliking for the puppets placed on the dictators' throne in some of the Afro-Asian countries. His interpretation of non-alignment was 'often irritating' to America.

After Nehru's death, the US Central Intelligence Agency turned its attention to Krishna Menon whom they had been trying to undermine for some time. He was the great statesman's associate and friend. Since 1952 the CIA methodically went about from one election to another in preparing the ground to remove Menon from the political scene. People had been told about this long-term operation as far back as the fifties. The leaflet about US interference in the general elections in India revealed another new phase of the CIA's sabotaging activities against Krishna Menon.

The interference of the United States in the elections in Northern Bombay where Krishana Menon was the candidate was crude and brutal. In the campaign against Menon, the CIA agents recruited plotters from the semifascist parties and groups, reactionary politicians and the anti-socialist press. Moreover, just before the elections the American Press began a campaign against Menon. On 2 Fabruary 1962 the *Time* magazine (published in the United States) put out a special edition with a caricature of Krishna Menon on the cover. The related article was entitled 'the Tea-Fed Tiger'. The edition was widely distributed in Bombay. It was alleged openly by *Blitz* dated 18 Feburuary, 1962 that Robert E. Boies, the US Consul in Bombay covered the whole city in his limousine with consular licence plates, handing out sum of money to his men in the polling stations. Colonel Robert Burrows, on the military attache's staff, was conspicuous at that time by his unusual activity.

According to a Japanese estimate the CIA has 15,000 agents/employees outside the United States. How many of them are working away quietly in India can only be guessed. A former US Ambassador has stated that of the 700 employees of the American Embassy in New Delhi, only 100 are State Department people. "The hordes are chiefly CIA." This yardstick, ratio of 1 to 6 produces a startling figure. The *New York Times* has stated that 55 per cent of US embassies staff are CIA agents.

The CCF, Congress for Cultural Freedom was founded in 1950 at Paris. Its official publication entitled Congress For Cultural Freedom murmurs in order to camouflage its real motives.

The men and women who assembled in Berlin ten years ago (1950) held, to be sure, different political, philosophical and religious views. But they were in no doubt as to what had brought them together; and

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they were in no doubt as to what they were resolved to defend together. This was, in the main, precisely their right to differ—the necessary condition of a free culture.

Referring to situation in the Communist world the official publication continues :

"A little further to the East, a meeting like theirs would have been simply inconceivable. But even within their own countries they saw the spread of a kind of intellectual neurosis. Under the pretext of "engagement" in the name of Peace or Order, writers, artists and scientists were, more and more frequently, abdicating before the tyrannies of Right and Left. These defeatists justified themselves by arguing that one could fight Stalinism only be adopting Fascist methods, or that one could prevent Fascism only by following the Communist line.

"In creating, not a party, but a rallying point for all those who determined to resist these collective temptations, the Congress for Cultural Freedom contributed speedily, and at times powerfully, to changing this climate."

Boasting of its achievements the CCF added:

"Ample testimony to the initial success of the Congress was provided by the discussions which accompanied the "Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century" festival in Paris, and, later by those which took place at the Conference on "Science and Freedom" in Hamburg. Music, literature, philosophy, and science proclaimed—through their greatest names—that in the contest with Tyranny the advantage was on the side of Liberty."

Another publication *Afro-Asian Attitudes* by M.R. Masani, Swantantra Party leader against Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru bitterly remarked in a sophisticated and disguised form:

"We have a tradition of hero-worship, of an acceptance of parental or governmental authority, of a too easy acceptance of authority. That comes of our own indigenous tradition of autocracy that preceded British Rule and also of a too ready acceptance, in the early years of the Ma-Bap Sarkar that the British provided. This tradition results in a continuance of hero-worship that might be called the cult of personality. Even if it is devoid of the brutality and the terror with which the cult of personality was and is accompanied in Soviet Russia, the fact that without any threat, without any coercion, people subordinate their judgment too easily to that of a 'beloved leader' is not a very healthy sign in a democracy."

In 1953 the Indian Committee of Congress for Cultural Freedom started publishing a magazine named *Encounter*. As disclosed later in *Washington Post* dated 8 May, 1967, among others this was also the journal which was financed from the CIA funds. Under such circumstances it was obvious that very soon the *Encounter* bacame a platform for cold warriors, for those who put most things down to conspiracy, for whom nothing much ever happended by accident. It is, therefore, wrong to say that American subversion never had the slightest effect on the editorial policy. "Anyone who wants to follow the mysterious movements

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of ideas in the modern world, is forced to read *Encounter*", observed correctly Joseph Alsop, the well-known Washington columnist.

In an article written in the *Saturday Evening Post*, New York, Mrs. Thomas W. Braden, a former CIA official disclosed on 8 May, 1967 that the CIA had placed an agent as an editor of *Encounter*. The British poet, Stephan Spender, resigned as editor after discovering that the magazine had been receiving CIA funds in secret for several years. *The Daily Mirror* group of London is now publishing the *Encounter*.

On 14 May, 1967 the General Assembly of the CCF, consisting of 17 intellectuals, pedagogues from Europe, Africa, Asia and the U.S.A., met at Paris under Minoo Masani's presidentship to consider their future course.

Mr. Michael Josselson was a naturalized American and a resident of Zeneva, CCF Executive Secretary since 1950 said at an executive meeting of the Congress that he had been personally responsible for channelling money from the CIA into a wide range of cultural magazines.

How curious it looks, when he said that CIA funds had been handed over "without strings attached" and in no way influenced the policies of the various organizations supported by the Congress. He had been accepting the CIA money ever since 1963 without informing his executive committee.

Mr. Minoo Masani, Indian President of the assembly of the Congress for Cultural Freedom confirmed on 9 May 1967 that the Paris-based Congress had been receiving funds from America's Central Intelligence Agency.

The editor of the *Quest*, Mr. Abu Sayed Ayyub, said that he had no intention of resigning from the magazine immediately as Mr. Stephen Spender had resigned from *Encounter*. He admitted that the magazine could not depend for its survival on advertisements only and the entire deficit had been met so far by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. He added that till recently the Congress had been receiving money from the CIA through several small foundations.

No sooner the disclosures of CIA link were made, through letters to the editor, the genuinely democratic-minded people began to demand that the Congress for Cultural Freedom should dissolve itself. But the editor of the *Quest* from Calcutta, Abu Sayeed Ayyub made an exceedingly ingenious and novel counter-suggestion:

"Let his terrible Majesty the King-Emperor cover his royal feet with a pair of leather shoes instead of accepting his wise minister's counsel of covering the entire earth with leather. In other words, let the CIA dissolve and reorganize itself on more rational lines."

On several thoughts, this is not a very novel suggestion. The late President Kennedy was thinking along similar lines when on hearing of the disastrous CIA adventure in the Bay of pigs he is reported to have cried out that he would like to splinter the CIA into a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds. I am sure, he would have succeeded in bring-

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ing this Frankenstein monster under control, had his life not ended so soon under such tragic circumstances. And now Senator Fulbright has come out with a protest against the CIA's method of "fighting fire with fire" and a proposal to bring the CIA under Congressional supervision. Let the CIA confine its activities to espionage and intelligence work proper and desist from embracing cultural, social and student organizations with embrace of death.

If the CCF does not shake off the tentacles of the CIA completely and convincingly, no free intellectual can have anything to do with it. That is clear.

On 22 September 1961 the 'Peace Corps Act' or 'Public Law 87-293' was signed by President Kennedy. The name itself was beguiling. The words "Peace Corps" unsuccessfully tried to take the play away from the Soviet Union, which for years has identified 'peace' with socialist achievements.

Sargent Shriver, the brother-in-law of the last President Kennedy, was assigned with the task of organizing the Peace Corps. He once remarked:

"The source of any political process is the minds and hearts of the people. It is in the towns and villages, on farms and in factories, in unions and in schools, where people live and work, and talk and learn, that world politics begins."

So far as the programme of the Peace Corps is concerned it is divided into four parts.

1. Co-teaching,
2. Teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL),
3. Communist Development, and
4. Secondary School Teaching.

In India the volunteers mainly work in Community Development projects and engage themselves in Secondary School teaching in urban centres. It appears that after having a strong foothold in urban areas, it was thought necessary to approach people in villages. The Peace Corps Volunteer plays a most important role in this rural field. "It is through his instigation that the community begins its own efforts". By tactfully presenting suggestions in a meeting of the people concerned, the volunteer is able to put forth his ideals. He works as an adviser and subtle teacher of the tools of community action.

Besides these obvious duties he may be assigned to fulfil a "secret operation". He may be asked to report the composition of various villages, belief of the people and land records.

In cities TEFL programme is taken up. Thereby as a teacher in higher secondary school or in college, a Peace Corps volunteer gets many opportunities to influence young mind and attract it for looking forward towards Washington as a Moslem does towards Mecca.

Peace Crops activities began in 1962 with the arrival of 26 volunteers. In India they worked almost in all States. In fact, "the India programme

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is the largest of all Peace Corps efforts in the Near East and South Asia region and one of the largest anywhere in the world". In 1965 the following number of them worked in various states in different fields:-

State	*Number of volunteers*	*Nature of work*
1. Punjab	26	Farm Extension
2. A.P., U.P., Gujarat	49	Rural Health Community action
3. Punjab and Mysore	41	Farm Extension
4. Andhra Pradesh	33	Nursing, Health
5. Rajasthan, M.P. Bihar, Gujarat, U.P. and A.P.	48	Poultry, Nursing, Motor mechanism, Small industries.
6. Maharashtra	26	Poultry, Dairy, Co-operative
7. West Bengal	33	Poultry, Dairy, Small irrigation
8. Education Project (in various states)	58	Higher Secondary Teaching.
9. Bihar U.P.	43	Piggery
10. Gujarat	32	General Education, Poultry Farm Extension
11. Education Project II (in various states)	56	Teachers
12. U.P.	32	Small Industry
13. Kerala, Mysore	32	Poultry
14. Andhra Pradesh	33	Nutrition.

According to the figures quoted by the *Tribune* on 1 April 1967, out of some 1600 volunteers in India 1,271 belonged to the Peace Corps. (By the end of the year their number according to the *Patriot* dated 13 May 1967, was scheduled to rise to 2,000. These figures were more or less confirmed by the then U.S. Ambassador, Chester Bowles, in a signed article in the last week of August, 1967 issue of the *American Reporter*. He mentioned that in India there were more than 8,000 American men, women and children. They included 1,879 employees of the US Government and their dependents, over 1,200 Peace Corps volunteers, roughly 3,000 businessmen with their wives and children who resided here more or less permanently, 192 scholars in Indian Universities, and 42 students.

Mr. Dhananjaya Singh adds further:

"One of techniques adopted by American volunteers, in order to camouflage their real intentions, is to put on simple khadi clothes and dresses like Indian peasants. Soon after their being stationed in a rural

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sector, they start taking interest in out-moded and obsolete Indian rituals like worshipping in a temple or praying in a mosque, euology of mother-cow, appreciation of the qualities of dominant caste in the village in order to encourage and perpetuate the water light compartmentalization of the social system, recitation of mythological stories of ancient India and thus giving a lease of life to that mystical atmosphere which still considerably clouds the mental horizon of rural India. The volunteers also engage in pro-American propaganda aimed primerly against the national liberation movements and progressive forces. The volunteers' activities are no less harmful than those of the American missionaries who involve religion in the worst type of politics in border areas of India in order to exploit the hungry to convert them to their own faith. All these varieties of Americans are subverting and undermining national integrity. What is worse, Indians feel that the US Government could have done a lot to hold CIA men and others at least from participating in anti-Indian activities."

The Peace Corps is a CIA-aim in India. Under the garb of teaching in local schools and initiating community development programme its volunteers carry on anti-Indian activities. Sometimes back a famous American feature writer, Drew Pearson, had publicly alleged that the new US Peace Corps Chief, Mr. Jeo Blackford, had had ties with Central Intelligence Agency. In India too the activities of this "Volunteer" organization were severely and frequently criticized for indulging in politically unhealthy and socially chauvinistic plans and programmes.

On 23 March 1967 there were made some disclosures in the Lok Sabha that the Central Intelligence Agency of American "students" to gain sensitive information about other countries. As a result, many developing countries were forced to have second thoughts on the role of volunteers from abroad. It was told in Parliament that one of the Peace Corps volunteers indulged in expressing pro-Pakistani views and was sent away. Another reportedly settled in sensitive areas like Dalhousie and Mussoorie with a view to work among Tibetan refugees. As his activities were found undesirable, he too was removed. At the instance of the external Affairs Ministry a Beautiful Peace Corps girl volunteer was forced to leave a Home Science college in Hyderabad because the college principal complained against her of preaching indiscipline, including arranging "dates." But the same girl was sent back to work in India as the Director of Peace Corps without the prior permission of the Government. She was 25 years old Yoyce Rusell from West Visalia, California. The weekly *Blitz* (Bombay) accused her of being a 'US Mata Hari.'

In the third week of September 1967, Mr. Chander Shekhar Singh, Minister in the coalition government of Bihar, referred to the nefarious activities of Peace Corps men in his State. He exposed those activities that tantamounted to interference in India's internal affairs. His allegations against so-called American research workers and priests were neither false nor irresponsible. They were not malicious fabrications.

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A delegation of the All India Peace Conference urged the government of Rajasthan, Punjab and Gujarat to expel the US Peace Corps voluteers from the border areas which are strategically very important for the defence of the country.

The daily *Patriot* of 7 November 1967 carried a very interesting story about the doings of the Peace Corps men in Delhi. It transpired that they haunt a swimming pool in Chanakyapuri in quest of 'the wherewithal for a walk in the sky.' This kind of solace, it seems, only the Indian hemp (*charas*) can give them. The 'reefer' or 'the weed' as they call it, made of a pellet of *charas* is packed in popular brand of Indian cigarettes and passed in that form to the customers to escape police detection. The demoralisation thus caused among some of the Peace Corps youth has even resulted in suicides.

Horrified by such discouraging development and anti-national behaviour of the Peace Corps volunteers, many states at different times demanded their expulsion or withdrawal. But somehow or other the volunteers could manage to stay in the country.

In October 1962 when India was engaged in a bloody battle of life and death with Communist China over the border demarcation, Britain and America hurriedly rushed military aid to India. They also offered to defend India against a Chinese air attack. They devised a plan that provided for periodic Anglo-American air exercises in India, the supply of American radar equipment, and the possibility that Britain would furnish fighter aircraft to India with the air-to-air missiles which they normally carried.

In lieu of this military help the American Government made the Government of India willy nilly agree to buy an American radio transmitter, and to pay for it by providing staging facilities for American propaganda. The transmitter of 1 megawatt power was in those days worth $ 7,50,000. Its cost to India was to allow the American Government Service, Voice of America, use of the transmitter for three peak hours every day for five years.

Expressing its disapproval and indignation against the deal in an editorial dated 17 July, 1963 the daily *Patriot* remarked bitterly :

"The people have not been told anything about Government's reported decision to get a powerful transmitter from the USA in exchange for free radio time for broadcasting Voice of America programmes. The manner in which fugitive reports of this dangerous deal have found their way into the press suggests that those who transacted it are not quite certain of its morality or even legality.

All India Radio is a Government department. Radio time is the property of the tax-paying Indian citizen. It cannot be sold either to a private individual or firm for advertisement or to a foreign government for its propaganda. Parliament will have to be consulted before such a deal can be finalised and we hope the Government of India will not enter into any contract without getting the approval of the elected representatives of the people.

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Exposing real character of Voice of America the paper continued :

"Voice of America is acknowledgely a cold war weapon. It does not claim to be a news service or an instrument of culture. It has been used and will continue to be used for criticism of the actions of many governments and leaders very friendly to India. Throughout South-East Asia, the installation of this transmitter on our soil on the terms reported, will be regarded with a sense of revulsion. Our claims of non-alignment will cease to have any weight."

The daily, *National Herald* also displayed similar concern over the proposed agreement when it commented in an editorial on 18 July, 1963 :

"In their search for increased publicity power to match Chinese propaganda, the Government of India have stumbled badly. The agreement with the United States. . .is wrong in principle and may be damaging in practice."

There was growing concern in government circles in New Delhi at the political repercussions of the agreement with Voice of America. The matter was reviewed at a high level. Many Congressmen also were quite unhappy about it.

On 18 February 1970 the Government of India directed the diplomatic missions in Chanakyapuri to close down their cultural centres within three months in places where they did not have diplomatic, consular or trade offices. The American cultural centres were primarily affected by this order and actually they were closed on 18 May 1970.

The United States Information Service (U.S.I.S) employees are obliged to do their utmost in having specially selected materials and events about America, India and other countries published in the Indian Press. Certain papers and journals are financed by the U.S.I.S. and large sums are paid to the publishers and chief editors.

It would be nearer the truth to interpret the abbrevation U.S.I.S. as the United States Intelligence Service instead of United States Information Service. The former is more in keeping with the role of the U.S.I.S. in India as an appendage of the CIA.

One is appalled to read that the Patna Centre of U.S.I.S. used all its resources to topple down the first non-Congress Coalition Ministry led by democratic and socialist-minded forces. It also had a hand in encouraging the local R.S.S. people and fanatic Muslims to flame communal riots in various places of the State in order to discredit the cause of progressive forces. In the name of "enlightened domocracies were opening their windows to the East," the State of Bihar was reduced to a cultural waste land.

Moreover, rather than being a refuge for the literate the Lucknow Centre cultivated a circle of such literautes who sang and applauded the culture of 'White Man's Burden' and racialism. With the latter elements the American society is still pregnant. American books and magazines made available in elegantly furnished halls of cultural centres have sold the Indian writers and poets down the Potomac river. The doctrine of counter-

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calling 'cultured' pressures was in full swing. Moreover, under the garb of cheerful atmosphere, and sophisticated freindship the Lucknow Centre became a sanctuary and fortress where in collaboration with American 'specialists' the local intellectuals engaged themselves in all sorts of mischief-mongering and partisaning in order to topple down Mrs. Indira Gandhi and bring to power the Syndicate backed by Fascists and Communalists.

A time came when Indira Gandhi was toppled down. There is no doubt about it that her regime came to an end because of the Emergency.

About fifty American universities, both private and State, give assistance either directly to Indian educational institutions or through the Government of India. Some programmes in which American universities have undertaken to help Indian 'projects' are actually sponsored and financed by the American foundations operating in India. The 'Exchange Programme' between American colleges and universities on the one hand and certain Indian colleges on the other have a religious aspect too. They are often conducted between Christian universities of America and their main aim is to spread Christianity in India.

Philip Grundy describes U.S. interest in education most precisely and trenchantly. He says :

"Education in reality is one of the basic factors of international relations. . .as important as diplomatic and military power. The educational exchange is not merely a laudable experiment, but a positive instrument of foreign policy to mobilize human resources just as military and economic policies seem to mobilize physical resources. Political, economic and military approaches of U.S. foreign policy have their limitations. The educational component in many ways reinforces them and, imaginatively employed, can accomplish things beyond their reach, adding fresh vitality and depth to American foreign policy."

And Grundy calls the U.S. educational penetration "the Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy."

This is what every partiotic Indian ought to bear in mind before he praises U.S. assistance.

Gifts from America, whether from official sources or from private 'non-profit' foundations are Trojan horses. Gift bringers from ancient Greek days till our times have had only one aim—the destruction of the gift recipient.

American money penetrates into Indian policy-making bodies to distort the priorities, to divert the emphasis from the national objectives to interests congenial to American governmental policies

The damage that the American penetration to Indian policy-making bodies can do, can be gauged from that already done through its penetration into the Education Commission (E. C.).

The Assistant Secretary of the Education Commission was a foreigner. Half of the 20 consultants to the Education Commission were

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Americans. Strangely enough, there was not a single consultant from the developing nations or from the Socialist nations.

The Education Commission was set up by the Government of India to lay down a national policy of education suited to the explicitly elaborated national aims and objectives of India.

But the Roport of the Education Commission (E.C.R.) shifts the emphasis from these national aims and objectives to current problems like 'Self-sufficiency in Food', 'Economic Growth and full Employment'. 'Social and National Integration'. In introducing this change in emphasis, it has neglected industrial development, public sector industry, and limelighted only to goals—agricultural development and curbing the growth of population.

It is not at all astonishing that the same report refers to "strikes, increasing lawlessness and a disregard for public property and corruption in public life" as problem of national and social integration, which they are not, and, then only, adds 'and communal tensions and troubles'. This is the way the E.C.R. distorts national problems and assigns wrong priorities.

Even when it deals with problems of 'political development', the E. C. R. does not lay emphasis on 'socialistic pattern' and 'secular democracy' and 'new social order'. Instead, it mentions 'the strengthening of democracy', 'the defence of freedom" and the popular demand for 'higher standards of living and better civic amentities', as problems of 'political development'. Again one sees the same distortion of India's political objectives which it would appear, include even "civic amentities." Incidentally, the United States claims as its monopoly, 'democracy' and 'freedom', the first two of the political 'challenges' mentioned by the Commission's report.

Mr. Dhananjaya Singh tells us :

"American money now sets up and finances Indian book publishing concerns also to publish books propagating an ideology that goes against our national interests. It finances various Indian journals and newspapers besides publishing its own jouruals, pamphlets and books. All this work is co-ordinated by the United States Information Agency (U.S.I.A.) in America and its Service branches in India."

For the American government the 'information programme' is a major instrument of foreign policy, supplementing and to a large extent supplanting the traditional diplomatic function. Prof. McClelland of the University of Southern California extensively elaborates this technique of foreign policy. He remarks, "At the other end of the spectrum is the information game. Its function is to distribute in other publics large amounts of fact and opinion that are expected to create attitudes and images abroad that are favourable to the United States or that are to its advantage, in one way or another. It is a curious fact not known widely among Americans, that the United States Information Agency whose work aborad is largely (and necessarily) public is restrained by

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law from reporting in any detail on what it does and how it operates in the international system."

Since 1945 emasculating spying systems, frequently consisting of many an interlocking yet effective espionage cell, have been emerged in the Western hemisphere, particularly America.

Most dubious role played by the CIA-aided foundations has been the encouragement given to the birth of anti-people's organizations in India. "Not only they", Mr. Dhananjaya Singh is certainly right when he writes thus, "hinder the growth of progressive, secular and socialist ideas, they also waste a lot of efforts in equating reactionaries with democrats. While they brand socialist elements as totalitarian and dictatorial, they equate the bloodthirsty and exploiting monopoly capitalists with "free entreprenuers" and "New Dealers". Thus anti-socialism and bourgeois-cum-feudal nationalism are the two factors which the so-called free democrats of America now bank upon to catapult their Indian stooges into power through parliamentary and democratic methods.

"India, disarrayed in this fashion, cannot be an independent state but a potential colony of the United States of America.

"Leaders of public life under such American oriented influence will not be able to stand to the needs of their own people, and in their lush carrying-on and their indifference to social reforms they will usually wind up as the finest propaganda instruments America can produce—with the damning label attached : "Made in America".

"It is true that India requires reforms and perpetual quantitative and qualitative developments in every field. But these reforms and developments should not rely on American charity and expertise which are corroding and ruining the culture and civilization of India. It is most urgent to resist the temptations of American money as also to struggle incessantly against American penetration. India should not allow herself to be used as agreed in the concert of an American foreign policy."

In January 1972 Anderson revealed in a series of columns that Nixon and his foreign policy chief had been lying to the American public about America's role in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971.

Kissinger had then assured the American public that was largely sympathetic to India that the US had observed strict neutrality in the conflict, only to be contradicted by Anderson who produced top-secret official transcripts showing that the Nixon Administration was tilting to Pakistan.

The latest Anderson revelations detailing private conversations—between Kissinger and Indian diplomat L.K. Jha—once again demolish Kissinger's credibility and his cardinal thesis, expounded in his book *The White House Years.*

The 'tilt to Pakistan' is now public knowledge. The Nixon Administration, during those blood-soaked nine-months in 1971 had refused to publicly condemn the atrocities committed by the Pakistanis in Bangladesh when other nations were doing so. Kissinger offers the explanation that he was using quiet, back door diplomacy—private political influence

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with Gen Yahya Khan—that would have resulted in a political solution leading to a restoration of civilian rule, the release of jailed Awami League leader Mujibur Rehman, the return of the 10 million refugees in India, and autonomy for Bangladesh.

Kissinger called India as 'expansionist-minded India' which saw in the East Pakistan crisis the opportunity to dismember Pakistan and occupy Bangladesh. Frustration with India's thwarting of Kissinger's diplomacy designed to achieve a peaceful political solution caused USA's tilt to Pakistan.

But Columnist Anderson has learned that nothing could be farther from the truth. Classified documents he has obtained show that during the same period that Kissinger claims he was pursuing a political settlement, he was actually engaged in an exercise in diplomatic jingoism in order to appease the Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan.

During the period March to December of 1971 Kissinger threatened Indian diplomats and warned them against contacting members of Congress to explain their viewpoint. He pursued no real political settlement, and he practically forced India into a closer diplomatic embrace with Russia when the two nations signed the 'friendship treaty.'

Kissinger's warning, according to Anderson sources, was issued to Ambassador Jha in August 1971. Key Senators—Kennedy, Church, Proxmire, Percy among them—who had visited refugee camps in India and witnessed their horrors firsthand were making speeches on Capitol Hill condemning the genocide and urging the Administration to take speedy action to bring Yahya to heel.

Nixon was silent. He was betraying India miserably. Kissinger warned Mr. L.K. Jha, the Indian diplomat, against trying to influence members of Congress. And he told Jha that those members of Congress 'are parochial in their interests' and not excited about the affairs in India and Bangladesh.

Kissinger's assertion that the outbreak of war sabotaged his efforts at negotiating a political reconciliation between East and West Pakistan through establishing contacts with the Awami League government-in-exile in Calcutta seems also to be enmeshed in fiction.

Ahmad, who came to power briefly in 1975 after the assassination of Mujib and other top leaders of the Awami League and was given instant diplomatic recognition by Kissinger—a courtesy he had refused to show to Mujib when he was released and became Bangladesh's first president.

There are still unconfirmed reports that America's dealings with Ahmad also touched upon US demands for military facilities in Bangladesh and the Bay of Bengal.

Kissinger's claim that his influence with Yahya and his contacts with Awami League leaders would have yielded a political settlement are further belied by his statement to Indian diplomats that he saw no possibility of Yahya coming to terms with the Awami League.

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Both the Nixon and Kissinger memories justify the Pakistan's Administration.

Speaking of India's role in South Asia Kissinger is reported to have said that India's friendship with the Soviet Union was natural and that he saw no signs of India abandoning its non-aligned posture.

Upon his return from his secret visit to Peking, Kissinger is reported to have made remarks to Indian officials that convinced them that the US would give tacit backing to a Sino-Pakistani alliance against India in case war broke out on the sub-continent—no matter who the aggressor was.

The Nixon-Kissinger thesis maintains that the US despatched the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the Bay of Bengal as a warning to the Soviets and to discourage India from expanding into Bangladesh.

Inderjit Badhwar tells us :

"The turning point for the Soviets came during a meeting between Yahya and President Podgorny in Iran in November 1971 when a drunk and utterly incoherent Yahya refused to concede that a political settlement was even remotely possible.

"The despatch of the *Enterprise*, as Nixon and Kissinger would have the world believe, was not so much to counter the Soviet "threat" but rather, as Anderson's account of National Security Council transcripts show, to aid Pakistan only after the Pakistani offensive in the West had ground to a halt and Pakistan, much to the chagrin of Kissinger, had not been able to make any compensatory gains in the West to offset its losses to India in the East."

The Nixon-Kissinger policies on the sub-continent heightened tensions. They were a miserable failure.

The highly fragile spider's-web link between the Super Powers—the USA, Russia and China—is revealed in all its dangerous complexity in Kissingers's book, *White House Years*. The Indo-Pakistan war marked the first time that the Hot Line between Washington and Moscow was used.It describes, in evocative detail, the secret meetings between Kissinger and Peking's envoys in CIA-owned "safe" houses, and it also put Kissinger, for the first time, in the firing line. As he admits; "I did not take kindly—or even maturely—to my first experience of sustained public criticism and Presidential pressures".

Kissinger, however, blames Nixon for throwing him to the media wolves when the heat was really on. He describes his meeting with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then newly appointed as deputy prime minister. That Kisssnger's political judgement was often coloured by his personal relationships is indicated in some measure. His negative reaction to Indira Gandhi, the Indian prime minister, was more than offset by his admiration for Bhutto. Unfortunately, Kissinger and Nixon chose to back the wrong horse.

If Henry Kissinger's global authority often seemed to exceed his official status, it was mostly because he became a victim of circumstance; Nowhere was this facet of Kissinger's complex character better revealed

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than during the Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1971. At the height of the hostilities, President Richard Nixon was already withdrawing into his own private world. Aloof and increasingly isolated, Nixon and the US State Department seemed to be operating in totally different wavelenghts. The US President, supported by Kissinger, advocated a hawkish stand against India, and, the Soviet Union. Ranged against them was the State Department, the bureaucratic structure and the media, determined to counter Nixon's "anti-Indian bias". The inevitable result was that the White House was constantly pushing for a policy that was strongly opposed by an equally powerful segment of the American political infrastructure. Kissinger reveals in the final instalment of the *White House Years* that America was betraying us. We give below the necessary extracts of Kissinger's memoirs in his own words. Mr. Henry Kissinger's *White House Years* deserves a review. He writes thus:

"Fundamentally, our only card left was to raise the risks for the Soviets to a level where Moscow would see larger interests jeopardized. Recognising this, Nixon suggested to me on the evening of December 8, that perhaps we should cancel the Moscow summit. This showed the degree of the President's displeasure; it did not necessarily mean that he wanted me to carry out his suggestion. The statement had the additional advantage of establishing a historical redord of toughness. It might be used later to demonstrate that one's associates had wavered while one stood like a rock in a churning sea. I was to learn before the week was up that to take it literally ran a major risk of Presidential displeasure. But at this point I told Nixon that such a move was premature. We had not yet received Brezhnev's formal answer to the Presidential message of December 6. And once pushed into a corner publicly, the Soviets would have no further incentive to call a halt to the Indian assualt on Pakistan. But I did favour stepping up the pressure, keeping the threat of cancelling the summit in reserve : "The major problem now is that the Russians retain their respect for us," I said. "We have to prevent India from attacking West Pakistan; that's the major thing. If we did absolutey nothing, we will trigger the Soviets into really tough actions." I made the same point to Helms : "If we do nothing we will surely lose. If we do something and do it daringly enough and do other simultaneous steps, we might get the Russians to call a halt to their games."

"On December 9, we received Brezhnev's reply. It had its hopeful side, proposing a cease-fire and the resumption of negotiations between the parties in Pakistan at the point, the message said, where they had been interrupted. If the Soviets intended by this to urge that the parties return to the situation as of March 25, there was promise in it; this would provide a fig leaf in that negotiations could be said to begin within the framework of a united Pakistan even though the outcome of an independent Bangladesh was foreordained. Brezhnev also demanded negotiations with Mujib, which would take time to accomplish; this might be a device to play for time while we were exploring the meaning of the proposal with

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Moscow. And we had to make sure that India would not use the interval to carry out its intention to destroy West Pakistan.

"That ominous possibility became more evident in a conversation between the Indian Ambassador and the Under Secretary of State. John Irwin called in Jha to seek assurances from India that it would not seize any territory in West Pakistan, including any part of Azad Kashmir. Jha responded that there was no intention of territorial annexation in the West; however, with respect to Azad Kashmir, he would have to ask New Delhi. (India had never recognized Kashmir as part of Pakistan, hence claiming it was not, in its view, dismembering West Pakistan.) The meeting concluded with Irwin's stressing that we were approaching a climactic moment in Indian-American relations.

"There was no way Pakistan could survive the simultaneous loss of Bengal and Kashmir; all centrifugal forces would be unleashed. We used the December 9 visit of Soviet Minister of Agriculture Vladimir Matskevich with Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz as a pretext to underscore our grave view. To his surprise Matskevich was invited to meet with the President in the Oval Office. Bullet-headed, hearty, bubbling with innocent goodwill, Matskevich conveyed a personal greeting from Brezhnev, who was looking forward with anticipation to the Moscow summit. Nixon replied that all progress in US-Soviet relation was being threatened by the war on the sub-continent. We insisted on a ceasefire. If India moved forces against West Pakistan, the United States would not stand by. Nixon added: "The Soviet Union has a treaty with India; we have one with Pakistan. You must recognize the urgency of a cease-fire and political settlement of the crisis." Matskevich was in a splendid position to claim that such matters of high policy were outside his province; nor was Vorontsov, who accompanied him, able to enlighten us. Time was thus gained for a further Indian advance.

"The tensions in our government surfaced on December 9 when Nixon, beside himself over press stories that senior US diplomats were opposing the President's "anti-Indian bias," called in the principal officials of the Wsag. He told them that while he did not insist on the State Department's being loyal to the President, it should be loyal to the United States. It was one of the emotional comments Nixon later regretted and that cost him so much support. The Department was being loyal to the United States by its lights; it happened to disagree with the President's policy and it was following the guidelines of its Secretary. As I told Alex Johnson, cables with instructions to Keating to criticize New Delhi took days to be drafted and cleared; cables to Islamabad criticizing Pakistan were miraculously dispatched in two hours.

"The root fact, which few were willing to face, was that the Soviet Union and India could have ended the crisis (and our own domestic disputes) by one simple gesture. All we required to let matters take their course was an assurance that there would be no attack on West Pakistan and no amputation of Kashmir. The war in East Pakistan would have then

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wound down on its own momentum. The Indian forces, with a six-to-one margin of superiority, were clearly prevailing. But this assurance was precisely what India refused to give or the Soviet Union to encourage. Jha remained without instructions from New Delhi. Vorontsov brought no such word even after Nixon had personally intervened.

"On December 10, we worked out with Yahya a new proposal to the United Nations, drawing upon Brezhnev's suggestion that negotiations be resumed where they had been broken off. Our proposal abandoned the demand for an Indian withdrawal; it called for a cease-fire and standstill to be monitored by UN representatives both in the East and the West; as soon as the ceasefire took effect there would be negotiations directed at troop withdrawals and the satisfaction of Bengali aspirations. In short, Pakistan, in return for an end to Indian military operations in the West, was prepared to settle for the military *status quo* in East (largely occupied by India by now) and to enter negotiation whose only possible outcome could be the emergence of an independent Bangladesh.

"I submitted this proposal to Vorontsov during the morning of December 10. It was accompanied by a letter from Nixon to Brezhnev which stated that Brezhnev's proposals for the political solution in East Pakistan were in the process of begin met. "This must now be followed by an immediate cease-fire in the West." Following the procedure in the Cienfuegos crisis, I read Vorontsov the *aide-memoire* of November 5, 1962, in which the United States promised assistance to Pakistan in case of Indian aggression. I warned him that we would honour this pledge. Vorontsov was, of course, without instructions. Nor would we hear from him for 48 hours.

"In foreign policy," Bismarck once said, "courage and success do not stand in a casual relationship; they are identical." Nixon had many faults, but in crises he was conspicuously courageous. An aircraft-carrier task force that we had alerted previously was now ordered to move toward the Bay of Bengal, ostensibly for the evacuation of Americans but in reality to give emphasis to our warnings against an attack on West Pakistan. We held it east of the Strait of Malacca, about 24 hours' steaming distance from the Bay of Bengal, because I wanted to consult the Chinese before we made our next move. In explaining the purpose of the fleet movement to Mel Laird, I pointed out that we recognized the Indian occupation of East Pakistan as an accomplished fact; our objective was to scare off an attack on West Pakistan. (I did not add that we also wanted to have forces in place in case the Soviet Union pressured China.) As always in crises, Laird was staunch and supportive.

"Before I could leave for New York and a secret meeting with Huang Hua, we received word that the Pakistani commander in East Pakistan was offering a cease-fire. The State Department was jubilant. At the daily Wsag, Alex Johnson discussed how to carry it out. I was disconcerted. A separate ceasefire in the East would run counter to what had just been proposed to the Soviets. It would settle the already declining war in the East, but it would magnify our principal worry by freeing the Indian army and

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air force for an all-out attack an West Pakistan. We knew that Mrs. Gandhi had ordered a rapid transfer of the Indian army to the West and all out attack as soon as operations against East Pakistan were concluded. I called in Pakistani Ambassador Raza and urged him to make the cease-fire proposal consistent with what had been agreed to with Yahya. The Wsag agreed to do the same in formal channels. A cease-fire must include both East and West Pakistan; otherwise the danger to the West would mount as operations in Bengal concluded. Islamabad therefore pulled back its proposal for a cease-fire in the East temporarily. But it was clear that this gave us only a breathing space. Within a short time the Pakistan army in the East would be destroyed. Indian troops would be freed for their planned assault on West Pakistan. We absolutely had to bring matters to a head.

"Huang Hua and I met around six o'clock in the CIA's walk-up apartment in the East Seventies. Its heavily mirrored walls and gaudy paintings suggested purposes other than a meeting between the representative of a puritanical Communist regime and the Assistant to the President trying to save the far away country that had brought them together.

"I briefed Huang Hua in great detail on our exchanges with all the parties, including the Soviets. I told him of our reliable information of Indian plans to destroy West Pakistan's armed forces. We had come to the reluctant conclusion that if Pakistan was to be saved from complete destruction we had to exert maximum political pressure for a standstill cease-fire along the lines of the scheme worked out with Yahya. No other course would prevent the planned Indian offensive against West Pakistan, the success of which was foreordained. We were doing our part by moving a carrier task force near the Strait of Malacca.

"Huang Hua, obviously without instructions, took a hard line. He insisted that a cease-fire in place amounted to an objective collusion with the Soviets. Aggression was being rewarded. East Pakistan would have been sacrificed to superior force. We should not give up the principle of Indian withdrawal *prior* to negotiations. I replied sharply that if Pakistan and China insisted on such a position we would go along with it in our vote in the UN. It would, however, prove futile; it would play right into the hands of Indian and Soviet strategy to dismember *all* of Pakistan. Huang Hua now came to the real Chinese concern—that a precedent was being set by which other countries might be dismembered by Indian-Soviet collusion. I told him that the United States would not be indifferent to further Soviet moves. An attack on China especially would have grave consequences; indeed, this was why we had maintained so strong a stand in defiance of public opinion, Congress, and the bulk of our bureaucracy. We had even moved our fleet toward the threatened area. It was an extraordinary state of affairs; an active if tacit collaboration was developing with a country that we did not recognize. Huang Hua said he would inform Primier Chou En-lai of our views; he could tell me now, he added, that China would never stop fighting as long as it had a rifle in its armoury; it would surely increase its assistance to Pakistan. I took this—as it turned out, wrongly

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to be an indication that China might intervene militar'ly even at this late stage.

"To increase the pressures on the Soviets for a cease-fire I had Haig call Vorontsov late on December 10, to tell him that the United States would take strong measures, including fleet movements, if we did not soon receive a satisfactory reply to our proposal.

"The next morning, still in New York city, I met for breakfast with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had been appointed Deputy Prime Minister a few days before, in the elegant apartment of our UN Ambassador at the Woldorf Towers. In its hour of greatest need, he saved his country from complete destruction. He later brought himself down by excessive pride. But his courage and vision in 1971 should have earned him a better fate than the tragic end his passionate countrymen meted out to him and that blighted their reputation for mercy.

"When we met on December 11, I told Bhutto that Pakistan would not be saved by mock-tough rhetoric; we had to develop a course of action that could be sustained. We had gone to the limit of what was possible: "It is not that we do not want to help you; it is that we want to preserve you. It is all very well to proclaim principles but finally we have to assure your survival." I urged him to work out a common position with the Chinese; It is clear from Kissenger's words how America was betraying India. This fact is further clear from Kissinger's words :

"Bhutto was composed and understanding. He knew the fact as well as I; he was a man without illusion, prepared to do what was necessary, however painful, to save what was left of his country. The Chinese were confused, he said, by the evident schism in our government. They heard too many conflicting statements during the week, ranging from the speech by George Bush charging Indian aggression to a State Department statement avowing strict neutrality. What should they believe? I told him that it was no secret that there were disagreements; there was equally no secret where Nixon and I stood, and the White House made the final decisions. It was his obligation to co-operate with those of us who wanted to save West Pakistan; we could not let our domestic opponents achieve their goals by confusing our friends. Bhutto and I finally agreed that if we did not hear from Moscow by noon the next day we would return the issue to the Security Council, taking as a pretext the imminent end of hostilities in East Pakistan. We would begin by demanding a cease-fire and Indian withdrawal, but we would settle for a simple cease-fire in place, in effect accepting the Indian *fait accompli* in Bengal. I had to count on Bhutto to make sure the Chinese understood our position.

"Returning to Washington, I called Vorontsov to say that he had until noon on December 12, or we would proceed unilaterally. Vorontsov told me that Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov had been dispatched to New Delhi to arrange for a satisfactory outcome and to urge Indian restraint. I told Nixon that this was probably true; the Indians needed no Soviet visitor to strengthen their determination to destroy Pakistan and

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Kuznetsov was known to us as a moderate professional. But whether the Soviets were pressing for a cease-fire or egging on the Indians, our course had to be the same. We had to increase the pressure until we were assured by India that there would be a cease-fire and no annexation in the West.

"India was not yet prepared for either contingency. Foreign Minister Singh, now in New York, objected to returning the issue to the United Nations; and in the absence of a UN decision there could be no relevant cease-fire resolution. He forswore any territorial ambitions in West Pakistan but then conspicuously accepted Azad Kashmir as not recognized by India as part of Pakistan. Ambassador Jha at last returned a reply to Under Secretary Irwin's query of two days earlier as to Indian intentions. He, too, denied territoral ambitions, but he also left open India's options over Kashmir. Kashmir, he argued, belonged to India and the Pakistan part of it was illegally held. When all the soothing phrases were assembled they amounted to careful evasions. India and the Soviet Union still refused to recognize the territorial *status quo* in the West; they deliberately kept open the possiblity of the kind of annexation achievable only by the total destruction of the Pakistani army and the consequent disintegration of Pakistan.

"Such was the situation when Nixon, Haig, and I met in the Oval Office on Sunday morning, December 12, just before Nixon and I were to depart for the Azores to meet with French President Pompidou. There was a sense of urgency. We expected some Chinese reaction to my conversation with Huang Hua. It was symptomatic of the internal relationship of the Nixon Administration that neither the Secretary of State nor of Defence nor any other representative of their departments attended this crucial meeting, where, as it turned out, the first decision to risk war in the triangular Soviet-Chinese-American relationship was taken."

Kissinger tells us that Rogers was displeased with Nixon's policy. Kissinger continues thus :

"Nixon and I and Haig met in the Oval Office in the solitude that envelops all crises, amidst the conflicting pressures and conjectures and gradually building tensions that one knows will soon break, though not yet in what direction. Vorontsov interrupted with a phone call at 10: 05 A. M. to tell us that the Soviet reply was on the way. It assured us that India had no aggressive designs in the West—but again was silent on the key point: its territorial aims in Kashmir. It was as compatible with a manoeuvre to gain time for a further fait accompli as with a genuine desire to settle. We decided that the best way to stress how gravely we took the crisis was for us to take it to the United Nations. This would give us an opportunity to stress the urgency of the situation as well as put forward our proposal of a standstill cease-fire.

Therefore at 11:30 A.M. we sent a measage, drafted by Haig and me, on the Hot Line to Moscow to keep up the pressure. This was the first use of the Hot Line by the Nixon Administration. Actually, we knew that this Moscow-Washington telegraphic link worked more slowly than did

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the communications of the Soviet embassy. But it conferred a sense of urgency and might speed up Soviet decisions. The one-page Hot Line message declared that after waiting 72 hours for a Soviet response to the conversations with Vorontsov and Matskevich, the President had "set in train certain moves" in the UN Security Council that could not be reversed. "I must also note that the Indian assurances still lack any concreteness. I am still prepared to proceed along the lines set forth in my letter of December 10"—in other words, a standstill cease-fire and immediate negotiations. Nixon's message concluded :

"I cannot emphasize too strongly that time is of the essence to avoid consequences neither of us want."

"Just when we had finished dispatching the Hot Line message to Moscow, we received word that Huang Hua needed to see me with an urgent response from Peking. It was unprecedented, the Chinese having previously always saved their messages until *we* asked for meeting—this was one of the charming Middle Kingdom legacies. We assumed that only a matter of gravity could induce them into such a departure. We guessed that they were coming to the military assistance of Pakistan, as I thought Huang Hua, 48 hours earlier, had hinted they might. If so, we were on the verge of a possible showdown. For if China moved militarily, the Soviet Union—according to all our information—was committed to use force against China. We would then have to decide whether to assist a country that until a year earlier had been considered our most implacable enemy.

"Nixon understood immediately that if the Soviet Union succeeded in humiliating China, all prospects for world equilibrium would disappear. He decided—and I fully agreed—that if the Soviet Union threatened China we would not stand idly by. A country which we did not recognize and which we had next to no contact for two decades would, at least in this circumstance, obtain some significant assistance—the precise nature to be worked out when the circumstances arose. Nixon made this decision without informing either his Secretary of State or Secretary of Defense; it was not an ideal way to manage crises. Since Nixon and I were both leaving for the Azores, Al Haig and Win Lord would have to go to New York to receive the Chinese message. If the message contained what we both suspected and feared, Haig was instructed to reply to the Chinese that we would not ignore Soviet intervention. To provide some military means to give effect to our strategy and to reinforce the message to Moscow, Nixon now ordered the carrier task force to proceed through the Strait of Malacca and into the Bay of Bengal.

"It now became urgent to determine Soviet intentions and at the same time convince them that we meant business. At 11 : 45 A.M. I phoned Vorontsov to tell him of the Hot Line message and of the projected fleet movements, but also of our continued willingness to cooperate along the lines of the President's letter to Brezhnev—that is to say, accept a standstill cease-fire. We were returning the issue to the Security Council but were prepared to conduct the UN debate in a conciliatory manner. The

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choice was up to the Soviet Union. Vorontsov suggested that, based on his reports from Kuznetsov, we were working for the same objectives. He hoped that by the time Security Council met the Soviet efforts in New Delhi would have borne fruit. I told him that time was running out.

At noon, Ron Rigler announced that in view of India's continuing defiance of the overwhelming General Assembly call for a cease-fire, the United States was now returning the issue to the Security Council. He warned : "With East Pakistan virtually occupied by Indian troops continuation of the war would take on increasingly the character of armed attack on the very existence of a member state of the United Nations."

In the event, the Chinese message was not what we expected. On the contrary, it accepted the UN procedure and the political solution I had outlined to Huang Hau 48 hours earlier—asking for a cease-fire and withdrawal, but settling for a standstill cease-fire. Chou En-lai's analysis was the same as ours. Amazingly, Pakistan, China, and—if Vorontsov could be believed—the Soviet Union, were now working in the same direction under our aegis. But Nixon did not know this when he made his lonely and brave decision. Had things developed as we anticipated, we whold have had no choice but to assist China in some manner against the probable opposition of much of the government, the media, and the Congress. And we were still in the middle of the Vietnam war. History's assessment of Nixon, whatever its conclusion, must not overlook his courage and patriotism in making such a decision, at risk to his immediate political interest, to preserve the world balance of power for the ultimate safety of all free peoples.

When we received the Chinese message we held up the fleet's movement for 24 hours to give Moscow an opportunity to reply to our Hot Line message. It came in, also over the Hot Line, at 5 A.M. on December 13, while the President and I were in the Azores. It repeated what Vorontsov had already told us. The Soviets were "conducting a clarification of all the circumstances in India." They would inform of the results without delay. Thus, the issue was left exactly as George Bush had defined it, on our instructions, in the Security Council the night before :

'The question now arises as to India's further intentions. For example, does India intend to use the present situation to destroy the Pakistan army in the West? Does India intend to use as a pretext the Pakistan counterattacks in the West to annex territory in West Pakistan? Is its aim to take parts of Pakistan-controlled Kashmir contrary to the Security Council resolutions of 1948, 1949 and 1950? If this is not India's intention, then a prompt disavowal is required. The world has a right to know : What are India's intentions? Pakistan's aims have become clear : It has accepted the General Assembly's resolution passed by a vote of 104 to 11. My government has asked this question of the Indian Government several times in the last week. I regret to inform the Council that India's replies have been unsatisfactory and not reassuring.'

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India's replies were very much satisfactory although the security council did not call them so, Kissinger furthers his words thus :

"Our fleet passed through the Strait of Malacca into the Bay of Bengal and attracted much media attention. Were we threatening India? Were we seeking to defend East Pakistan? Had we lost our mind? It was in fact sober calculation. We had some 72 hours to bring the war to a conclusion before West Pakistan would be swept into the maelstrom. It would take India that long to shift its forces and mount an assault. Once Pakistan's army and air force were destroyed, its impotence would guarantee the country's eventual disintegration. We have to give the Soviets a warning that matters might get out of control on our side too. We had to be ready to back up the Chinese if at the last moment they came in after all UN initiative having failed. The Kremlin needed an excuse to accelerate the pressures it claimed it was exerting on India. However unlikely an American military move against India, the other side could not be sure; it might not be willing to accept even the minor risk that we might act irrationally. It was also the best means to split the Soviet Union and India. Moscow was prepared to harass us; it was in our judgement not prepared to run military risks. Moving the carrier task force into the Bay of Bengal committed us to no final act, but it created precisely the margin of uncertainty needed to force a decision by New Delhi and Moscow.

"On December 14 at 3.00 A.M., Vorontsov came in to hand Al Haig a formal Soviet note. A nine-page handwritten memorandum professed to see a "considerable rapprochement of our position." It reported "firm assurances by the Indian leadership that India had no plnas of seizing West Pakistani territory." This was some small progress but it still begged the principal question of whether India considered Pakistani-held Kashmir as Pakistani territory. And it was silent on the subject of a cease-fire. Nor was anything heard from India.

"This is why on the return flight from the Azores I said on background to the press pool on *Air Force One* that Soviet conduct on the subcontinent was not compatible with the mutual restraint required by genuine coexistence. If it continued, we would have to re-evaluate our entire relationship, including the summit. I had not cleared that last point specifically with Nixon. I had assumed it reflected his thinking since he had himself mentioned this to me on December 8. The threat to cancel the summit caused the *Washington Post* to break the background rules and identify me as the speaker, in the name of the "people's right to know." This was a temporary fit of doctrinal puritanism from which the *Post* afterward recovered in order to be invited to later backgrounders.

"The resulting hullabaloo occupied much of December 15. Though there were frantic disavowals at State and even some public backtracking by Ron Ziegler, the message got through to Moscow, which had by then learned that my voice reflected the probable course of the President's thinking. (Indeed, if my critics in the bureaucracy had analyzed the situation, they would have known that I could not have survived, much less

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prevailed, on any other conditions.) Vorontsov appeared several times with increasingly urgent, soothing comments and requests for reassurances. By the next morning, December 16, we were receiving reliable reports that Kuznetsov was in fact pressing New Delhi to accept the territorial *status quo* in the West, including in Kashmir.

"Late in the day on December 15, the commander of the outnumbered Pakistani forces in the East again offered a cease-fire. He had held out five days longer than we thought possible when the first cease-fire offer was put forward on December 10. The resistance of his forces had given us the time to mount the pressures that prevented the onslaught on West Pakistan.

"Next day Mrs. Gandhi offered an unconditional cease-fire in the West. There is no doubt in my mind that it was a reluctant decision resulting from Soviet pressure, which in turn grew out of American insistence, including the fleet movement and the willingness to risk the summit. This knowledge stood us in good stead when Vietnam exploded four months later. It was also Chou En-lai's judgement, as he later told Bhutto, that we had saved West Pakistan. The crisis was over. We had avoided the worst—which is sometimes the maximum statesmen can achieve."

India would have annihilated West Pakistan if the Soviet pressure had not been there. This pressure was surely a betrayal of India. Kissinger says further:

"The India-Pakistan war of 1971 was perhaps the most complex issue of Nixon's first term. Not that emotions ran as high as on Vietnam, or that its effects were very long-lasting, though the "tilt toward Pakistan" entered the polemic folklore as a case history of political misjudgment. What made the crisis so difficult was that stakes were so much greater than the common perception of them. The issue burst upon us while Pakistan was our only channel to China; we had no other means of communication with Peking. A major American initiative of fundamental importance to the global balance of power could not have survived if we colluded with the Soviet Union in the public humiliation of China's friend—and our ally. The naked recourse to force by a partner of the Soviet Union backed by Soviet arms and buttressed by Soviet assurances threatened the very structure of international order just when our whole Middle East strategy depended on proving the inefficacy of such tactics and when America's weight as a factor in the world was already being undercut by our divisions over Indo-china. The assault on Pakistan was in our view a most dangerous precedent for Soviet behaviour, which had to be resisted if we were not to tempt escalating upheavals. Had we acquiesced in such a power play, we would have sent a wrong signal to Moscow and unnerved all our allies, China, and the forces for restraint in other volatile areas of the world. This was, indeed, why the Soviets had made the Indian assault on Pakistan possible in the first place.

"But an essentially geopolitical point of view found no understanding among those who conducted the public discourse on foreign policy in our

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country. (By "geopolitical" I mean an approach that pays attention to the requirements of equilibrium.) This dramatized one of the root dilemmas of the foreign policy of the Nixon Administration. Nixon and I wanted to found American foreign policy on a sober perception of permanent national interest, rather than on fluctuation emotions that in the past had led us to excesses of both intervention and abdication. We judged India by the impact of its actions, not by its pretensions or by the legacy of twenty years of sentiment. But our assessment depended on conjecture about the wider consequences of India's assault. To shape events one must act on the basis of assessments that cannot be proved correct when they are made. All the judgements we reached about the implications of an assault on Pakistan were undemonstrable. By the time the implications were clear it would be too late; indeed, there might then be another dispute as to what had actually produced them.

"The majority of informed opinion sought to judge the confrontation on the subcontinent on the merits of the issues that had produced the crisis. Pakistan had unquestionably acted unwisely, brutally, a nd even immorally, though on a matter which under international law was clearly under its domestic jurisdiction. But even here, I would have to say we had an assessment of the facts different from that of our critics. I remain convinced to this day that Mrs. Gandhi was not motivated primarily by conditions in East Pakistan; many solutions to its inevitable autonomy existed, several suggested by us. Rather, encouraged by the isolation of Pakistan, the diplomatic and military support of the Soviet Union, the domestic strains in China, and the divisions in the United States, the Indian prime minister decided in the spring or summer of 1971 to use the opportunity to settle accounts with Pakistan once and for all and assert India's pre-eminence on the subcontinent. Her delay until November was to allow military training and preparations to be completed and to wait until winter snows in the Himalayas complicated Chinese access. After that decision, every concession by Pakistan was used as a starting point for a new demand escalating the requirements and shortening the time span for a response to the point that showdown was inevitable. We had no national interest to prevent self-determination for East Pakistan—indeed, we put forward several schemes to bring it about—but we had a stake in the process by which it occurred. We wanted it to be achieved by evolution, not by a traumatic shock to a country in whose survival the United States, China, and the world community (as shown in repeated UN votes) *did* feel a stake, or by a plain violation of the rules by which the world must conduct itself if it is to survive. India struck in late November; by the timetable that we induced Yahya to accept, martial law would have ended and a civilian government would have taken power at the end of December. This would almost surely have led to the autonomy and independence of East Pakistan —probably without the excesses of brutality, including public bayoneting, in which the Indian-trained guerrillas, the *Mukti Vahini*, engaged when they in turn terrorized Dacca."

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Henry Kissinger's above noted words are based on hypocricy. America was doing nothing for Mujib and Bangladesh. It is again a betrayal if Kissinger believes that India was asserting her pre-eminence.

Kissinger adds further :

"All the strands of our international experience ran counter to what we were trying to accomplish on the subcontinent in the autumn of 1971. India had much sympathy as the world's most populous democracy; the problem to be "solved" was self-determination for East Pakistan; the "case" should be turned over to the United Nations, as Rogers never tired of pointing out. Our geopolitical concerns were given no credence and were attributed to personal pique, anti-Indian bias, callousness toward suffering, or inexplicable immorality.

"Had we followed these recommendations, Pakistan, after losing its eastern wing, would have lost Kashmir and possibly Baluchistan and other portions of its western wing—in other words, it would have totally disintegrated. We manoeuvred with some skill—and considering the few cards we held, considerable daring—to avert disasters. We succeeded in confining the impact of the conflict to the subcontinent. The Indian power play did not shake the foundations of our foreign policy and wreck our China initiative as it well might have, and as the Soviets undoubtedly hoped it would. But since there was no general recognition of these dangers, we could expect little understanding of our motivation.

"Instead, attention focused on costs. We believed they would prove as temporary as they were unavoidable. We did not think that we had permanently jeopardized our relations with India or driven India irrevocably to the Soviet side, as was so often and passionately claimed. Nor could we never have competed with what the Soviet Union offered India for this crisis: six years of weaponry while we embargoed arms to both sides, military threats against Peking to deter Chinese interference, and two vetoes in the Security Council blocking a cease-fire and UN peacekeeping efforts. We could not have outbid the USSR in this dimension—nor do I recall any of our domestic critics recommending that we attempt to do so. Just as our wooing for two decades had not managed to tempt India out of its nonalignment, so India was unlikely to move irrevocably to one side as a result of our defending our own interests. Nonalignment enabled India to navigate the international passage with a maximum number of options. For that reason we were convinced that India would sooner or later seek a rapprochement with us again if only to keep Moscow from taking it for granted. When the immediate crisis was over I reminded Dobrynin of a comment by the Austrian minister Schwarzenberg after Russian troops had helped put down the Hungarian revolt of 1848: 'Some day we will amaze the world by the depth of our ingratitude.'

"And this is exactly what happened. After the crisis, US-Indian relations returned quite rapidly to their previous state of frustrated incomprehension within a framework of compatible objectives. We were not so

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fortunate as to be spread the usual hectoring, but within three years US-Indian joint commissions were working on co-operative projects in a variety of economic and cultural fields. T.N. Kaul, the Foreign Secretary who venomously pushed the policy of confrontation in 1971, was sent to Washington as Ambassador with the assignment to repair relations—a task to which he devoted himself with the same single-mindedness that had characterised India's implacable dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971."

"Nixon put it well when he told Prime Minister Heath in Bermuda on December 20, after the crisis was over, what we had tried to accomplish:"

'I felt that if it was true that her (Mrs Gandhi's) goal was to force Pakistan to surrender in the West, there would be serious repercussions on the world scene. It could be a lesson for other parts of the world. . . . The Soviets have tested us to see if they could control events. Of course you have to consider the much bigger stakes in the Middle East and Europe. Part of the reason for conducting our Vietnam withdrawal so slowly is to give some message that we are not prepared to pay *any* price for ending a war; we must now ask ourselves what we are willing to pay to avert war. If we are not, we have tough days ahead.'

"Nixon's view, with which I agreed, was not shared by the media, our bureaucracy, or the Congress. I still believe it was correct.

"The crisis was no sooner over than the White House found itself in the vortex of a storm of leaks and denunciations. As early as December 13, the columnist Jack Anderson began to publish excerpts from Defence Department notes of Wsag meetings. Our opposition to India's military action—our *public* position, for which we were indeed attacked—was held to be a startling revelation that proved us liars when we denied an anti-Indian bias. Reams of other classified information sprouted in the newspapers—cables from Kenneth Keating in India, for example, which urged pressure on Yahya or disputed my December 7 backgrounder. The movements of our fleet, which are as a rule secret, found their way instantly into print. Rogers gave vent to years of frustration by contradicting my remarks on *Air Force One* and announcing at a press conference on December 23, that the Moscow summit was by no means impaired by events on the subcontinent. He also denied that we had any kind of military commitment to Pakistan if threatened by India—which was a fine lawyer's point. And the investigation of the leaks revealed that a Navy yeoman who had served as a clerk on my staff had systematically copied NSC documents entrusted to him and passed them on to his superiors at the Pentagon."

Anderson papers make it very much clear that America was betraying India in 1971 and there is no doubt about it.

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15 *The Goddess That Failed*

On October 26, 1962, the President issued a Proclamation of Emergency and promulgated the Defence of India Ordinance, conferring emergency powers on the government to deal with the situation. The Defence of India (Amendment) Ordinance was proclaimed on November 3, empowering the government to deal with anti-national and anti-social elements which might interfere with the national effort during the emergency. Later, both the ordinances were replaced by the Defence of India Act, 1962. Then the Government had promulgated the following rules under the Act: (i) the Defence of India Rules, 1962, (ii) the Civil Defence Service Rules, 1962, (iii) the Defence of India (Requisitioning the Acquisitioning of Immovable Property) Rules, 1962, and (iv) the Defence of India (Employment, of Technical Personnel in National Service) Rules, 1963.

During 1966 much was said against the continuation of emergency. Mr. Setalvad spoke of 'constitutional dictatorship'. In a judgment, the Supreme Court released a kerosene-dealer of Kerala. The Supreme Court felt rudely disturbed by the thought that the continuous exercise of these wide powers is likely to make the conscience of the authorities insensitive, if not blunt. . . and might ultimately pose a serious threat to the basic values on which the democratic way of life in this country was founded.

Shaken by this judgment, the emergency was lifted on January 19, 1968. During the emergency the governments detained a large number of people. The Parliament passed the Unlawful Activities Act according to which 7-year imprisonment can be awarded to the guilty. Even then the government was facing difficulties because it was not always possible to substantiate charges against those persons who had been detained under the D.I.R. The Unlawful Activities Act is a legislation under which no one can be detained unless the courts are satisfied to the detention. According to the D.I.R., the government could detain any individual without producing the defence before any court. In all the cases that arose in the past, what the courts questioned was whether the authorities detained an individual according to the due procedure established by law or not, but not the validity of the D.I.R. Under the Unlawful Activities Act the authorities had not only to conform to the due procedure established by law but also the content of the Unlawful Activities Act, and that too, in

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the context of the fundamental rights and writs guaranteed in the Constitution.

The second difficulty that was confronting the government stemmed from the points made in the Makhan Singh case. In this case, the court opined that the detenues could sue for damages after the emergency will be over because under the D.I.R. only the writs pertaining to fundamental rights were suspended, not the rights themselves. Added to this, the court also opined that the detenues could proceed against the officials who enforced the D.I.R. Another point of the judgment was that, if the government passed any legislation preventing the detenues from seeking damages and proceeding against the officials concerned, the courts could scrutinize such a procedure.

Naxalites (extremists who broke away from the C.P.I. Marxist) maintain that they could count on support and partronage from China, Albania and Cuba. The Communist Marxists contened these Naxalities are pseudo-revolutionaries and ultras with their boastful bragging of fighting revisionism and neo-revisionism. It was under the D.I.R. that most of the Naxalites were detained in jails.

First it was in the Naxalbari Tehsil of the Darjeeling district that Naxalite activity was heard about. The leaders of the Naxalbari movement were Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, and Sushil Rai Choudhary. It is interesting to note that the chief principle of these groups is that revolution comes first and then the party organization and the ideology. The thesis owes more to the Cuban Revolution of Fidel Castro than to either the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, or to Mao's revolution. There are 20,000 Naxalites in India—say 7,000 in Andhra, 7,000 in West-Bengal, 5,000 in Kerala and about 1,000 in Punjab. During the emergency, most of them were hauled up.

History was created in the Ashoka Hall of Rashtrapati Bhawan on March 24th, 1977, when Mr. Morarji Desai, leader of the victorious Janata Party, was sworn in as our Prime Minister by the Acting President Mr. B.D. Jatti.

In the presence of a distinguished gathering which included Mr. Y.B. Chavan, leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, and Janata Party leaders, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, Mr. Ashoka Mehta, Mr. S.N. Mishra, Mr. L.K. Advani, Mr. Raj Narain and Mr. George Fernandes, Mr. Desai took the oath of office and secrecy.

He was earlier unanimously elected leader of the Janata Party in Parliament, amid scenes of unprecedented jubilation.

The presence of Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan and Acharya Kripalani, added to the dignity of the occasion. Both of them made brief but inspiring speeches, urging the New Prime Minister to utilize the power of the State and the power of the people for India and social advancement.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in a letter to Mr. Desai, offered her warm congratulations and best wishes to him as Prime Minister.

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Mr. Morarji Desai was twice denied his rightful place as the Prime Minister of India by the Indian National Congress. Little could he dream that one day he would get his last chance with the assistance of the non-Congress political parties.

Morarji Desai desired the second Prime Minister of India after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. A literary analyst of Indian politics namely S. Jagat Singh says in his book, *The Returning Democracy* thus:

"Had Lal Bahadur Shastri not become the second Prime Minister of India, he would not have died of heart attack at Tashkent in January 1966, and would perhaps have still been living today. He over-worked himself to death. There is also a school of thought which believes that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was clinically killed to make way for Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

"Having crept into power unnaturally, Mrs. Gandhi has been compelled to do many unnatural deeds to keep herself in power. Had she been not foisted on the nation over the heads of more deserving candidates—Morarji Desai, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jagjivan Ram—she would have risen higher in the estimation of the country and the world. After the Congress split of 1969, engineered by Mrs. Gandhi herself, Gandhism was murdered and totalitarianism entered boldly by the backdoor. She lost trusted lieutenants and opportunists made her their prisoner.

"The spiritual history of India went astray in 1964, and it required heroic effort by men and gods to straighten the course of the ship of State; and put Mr. Desai at the helm of affairs, where he would have been in 1964, when the Indian National Congress unfortunately lost its way."

Little wonder, a group of one hundred young men demonstrated at the main entrance to the Parliament House, urging the four reluctant Ministers designate to take their oath of office. They chanted:

"Shapath lo, Shapath lo. . . .

Natak band karo, natak band karo

"They punctuated their chant with the names of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Mr. H.N. Bahuguna, Mr. Raj Narain and George Fernandes.

"They told reporters that these leaders were elected by the people and they could not shirk responsibility.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan reiterated the need for people's committees. "Just because there is a new Government at the Centre, I don't think there is no need for keeping a watch over what the Government from the top to the bottom level is doing", he said further.

"Anybody can go wrong when he occupies a seat of an office or seat of power and he should be quite pleased to find that there is somebody to keep a check on what he or his colleagues are doing."

The flower of fredom that the British bequeathed to Indian National Congress bore a big canker of corruption.

Gandhiji knew it; and he advised all top leaders—Nehru, Patel and others—to keep away from the citadel of power, handling over authority to minor men, and keep the organization pure and healthy as instrument of selfless public service.

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Having failed to keep Nehru and Patel away from the apex of power, Mahatma Gandhi advised abolition of the Indian National Congress. 'It was a national movement,' he said, in which people of all ideologies had participated. Now that the Congress had achieved its objective, there was no use of its further existence. But pelf-hungry, power-thirsty and possessions-drunk Congress leaders paid no heed to him and virtually killed Gandhism. Nathuram Godse only killed Gandhi's body. The soul of the Mahatma was murdered by Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and many many others to come afterwards.

Acharya Kripalani was the President of the Indian National Congress at the time of Indian Independence. The Acharya found that the office of the President of the Indian National Congress was becoming growingly redundant, because Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru took all the important decisions without taking anybody into confidence. Mahatma Gandhi was ignored and the Congress President was set aside. Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru manipulated all the authority of the organization and the country. These were the days when Nehru was India and India was Nehru. Even Mahatma Gandhi was pushed into the background. If Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in the independence celeberations of August 15, 1947, reasons were there. The decisions of the Partition was taken by Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru in defiance of the sagacity of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Acharya Kripalani and the lakhs of Sindhi refugees who were left without a homeland in India, unlike the Punjabis and Bengalis who had their states partitioned.

Acharya Kripalani went to Noakhali in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi but at Delhi he found his work as Congress President growingly redundant. So he preferred to resign rather than lose his identity as Congress President. Had the independence, dignity and prestige of the Congress President been maintained by successive presidents in the footsteps of Acharya Kripalani, the Congress debacle of 1977 could have been avoided; but the successive presidents of the Indian National Congress became willing stooges of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister commandeered all the power and prestige of the Indian National Congress and his charisma was enough to get a thumping electoral majority. So all political intrigues also centred round the Prime Minister. So foolishly futile had become the office of the Congress President after the departure of Acharya Kripalani that in the late fities Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself was compelled to combine both the offices of the Congress President and the Prime Minister in himfelf. Some dignity of Congress was required to be shown publicity.

That was the last time Mr. Nehru ever became the President of the Congress and a year after, he handed over the charge of the Presidentship of Congress to his own daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who in capacity first came into the limelight.

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Mrs. Indira Gandhi started the growth of unparliamentary practices to seize citadels of power, which she herself authored and engineered.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the President of the Indian National Congress, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's greatest headache was the formation of the Marxist Ministry in Kerala. The anti-Communist politicians around the world feared that Marxism-Leninism of Mao Tse-tung had entered the tos of India and Communism and Socialism were a sizable factor in the Indian politics of fifties. The Indian National Congress was growingly becoming capitalistic and had lost contact with the masses and the intellectuals were turning to the socialism of Jaiprakash Narayan. Communism was becoming popular in the trade unions.

In Kerala, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as Congress President, organized agitations, processions, and *gheraos* against the Marxist Ministry, until a law-and-order situation was created, which finally led to the Presidential Rule and dismissal of the Marxist Ministry.

There would have been no harm if we had allowed the Marxist Ministry to function in Kerala in the spirit of the Constitution of India; and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru instead of being annoyed with it, should have blessed it and encouraged its smooth functioning. Mr. Nehru did the greatest mistake when he felt that Marxist Ministry in Kerala was a thorn in his side; and he used Indira as a cat paw for pulling out the thorn. In the process he killed democracy and killed the democratic instinct in his daughter.

If Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi had not used extra-constitutional authority against the Marxist Ministry in Kerala, China's invasion of India in 1962 could have been avoided. Chinese Government was irked for this very reason as it lost all hope of Communists ever coming to power in India through constitutional means. Top leaders of China decided that the foreign aggression was the only way out to stir up an internal Communist revolution in India.

Constitutionalism and democratic practices had a brief brilliant period after the demise of Mr. Nehru. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was a democrat to his beckbone. He consulted even the opposition on all major national problems and immensely enjoyed their co-operation.

At one place he failed to consult the opposition and he suffered for that. That became an *erratum magnum*, with a heavy weight on his conscience, which caused his heart failure and death. He could not consult the opposition at Tashkent after the Indo-Pak war of 1965, before signing the treaty with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan at Tashkent. He did not take any opposition leader with him, and he did not have sufficient time to talk to them even on telephone. He signed the treaty in haste and regretted at leisure. That loaded his conscience, broke his heart and caused his death. Nevertheless, it is popularly believed that Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri accomplished more in nineteen months than Prime Minister Nehru did in nineteen years.

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S. Jagat Singh says : "After the death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Indian National Congress blew all democratic practices and constitutional traditions sky high. Mr. Kamaraj had no moral, legal, or constitutional right, to appoint Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the basis of a supposed consensus, when Mr. Morarji Desai enjoyed, and there were many other more competent men than Mrs. Indira Gandhi available. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was still politically immature, and she was merely a Minister of Information and Broadcasting, which was given to her by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as a measure of courtesy to her father. Her name should not have been proposed for the post at all; but Mr. Nehru, who practised the personality cult, had left behind a large number of stooges, including Mr. Kamaraj, to foist his daughter as Prime Minister on the nation.

"Once enthroned in power, Mrs. Gandhi adopted all Marxist-Leninist tactics to keep herself in power without caring to adopt Marxist-Leninist ideology for axmeliorating the lot of the poores t millions. Through Congress split of 1969, she axed these very elder statesmen—Kamaraj, Nijalingappa, Morarji Desai, Sanjiva Reddy—who had brought her to power. In the tradition of the totalitarian regimes, she sawed away the branches of the very tree of power on the top of which she was sitting. Now she could not climb down even if she wanted to, and it was necessary that she should practise more and more totalitarianism to keep herself high and dry.

"Although CPI members were in minority, these were CPI tactics that won for her a sweeping victory in the Parliamentary Elections of 1971. Her *Garibi Hatao* programme enamoured the masses. Her nationalization of banks, elections of Mr. V. V. Giri as the President of India, against the official candidate of the Congress, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, her struggle for the abolition of privy purses, her leftist pro-Moscow policies, aroused the highest expectations in the poorest."

Immediately after winning a great victory, she got busy strenghthening her position as the Prime Minister instead of fulfilling her commitments to the people. Selfish, shortsighted, sycophants made her their prisoner and suffocated her aspirations. Centres of extra-constitutional authority grew around her. They used her authority to promote their own prospects in life.

After the downfall and dethronement of Mrs. Gandhi in March 1977, there was evidence that the Indian National Congress was returning to the path of parliamentarianism from which it strayed in August 1974.

Mr. Priya Rajan Das Munshi, acting Indian Youth Congress president, demanded expulsion from Congress of those people who piloted the party during emergency and were responsible for its debacle.

Addressing a news conference in New Delhi, Mr. Munshi said that certain measures adopted during emergency violated the norms of the Congress and went against the aims of the Youth Congress movement. The name of IYC had been "misused" and some extra-constitutional powers started growing around Mr. Sanjay Gandhi.

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Mr. Munshi was not allowed to enter the office of the Indian Youth Congress at No. 19, Janpath when he went there. The IYC General Secretary, Mr. Janardan Singh Gahlot and Mr. Surinder Singh, treasurer, told newsmen that they would not allow Mr. Munshi to take possession of the office building until his appointment was approved by the National Council of IYC.

"His appointment," they said, "did not have the acceptance of the Indian Youth Congress as it has not been done through the formal and established norms of practical demoratic precedure".

According to Mr. Munshi, Mr. Sanjay Gandhi became a member of the national council in an 'unconstitutional manner' because he had not served as a primary member for three years as required under rules.

Explaining the reason for the Congress defeat in West Bengal, Mr. Munshi said there was 'in-fighting' within the Congress. There was also a demand from the public for the release of CPI(M) and Naxalite youth languishing in jails.

Asked about Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Munshi said the years between 1969 and 1974 had been her golden era; a period when she provided good leadership. But during the 19 months of emergency, 'things had been done in any unrealistic manner; she should have greater knowledge of what was happening in the country.' He felt Mrs. Gandhi had probably been 'misguided'.

During Mrs. Gandhi's Prime Ministry and even before that, the Bhartiya Jana Sangh offered a strong opposition to the Congress Party.

S. Jagat Singh further says :

"Since Jan Sangh alone offered a viable opposition with a dedicated cadre of workers, and it became a victim of malicious misrepresentation by the Party in power, Jan Sangh never grew out of twaddling clothes, and the nation was left without any strong opposition to the Congress, which had an easy walkover in all elections, and the success went to their head like strong liquor, because they felt the bogey of communalism was enough to set Muslims and Sikhs against the RSS and Jan Sangh, capture their electorote, befool them, and never fulfil the commitment made to the minorities. Because after the elections the minorities were absolutely powerless, Muslims grew gradually disillusioned, till recent sterilization campaigns, and bulldozing of Mulsim houses and shops completely antagonized them to Congress leaders, their promises and pledges not withstanding."

Throughout elections of 1977 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi went on hammering on RSS and Jan Sangh as principal components of the Janata Party and raised many bogeys wherever she went, but, this did not work. Nobody took her seriously. When the Imam of Delhi rallied round RSS, the Congress formula failed to yield any results.

Alluding to the Congress for Democracy, Mrs. Gandhi said, "a new party has been formed and its game is to act as a pressure group and try

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to drag members from one side to another and soil the name of the Parliament".

"The Socialist Party," she said, "had no programme except rowdyism. It has bitterly opposed Jawaharlal Nehru and was against his family. That is why I am now the target of its attack".

Justifying the emergency, Mrs. Gandhi said, "the Government had taken the right step at the right time and averted a grave economic crisis by controlling inflation—a feat which had not been accomplished even by the advanced countries of the world."

"The emergency," she pointed out, "had been criticized not by the poor people or the peasants and workers or even the middle class but only by a small minority who either did not understand why it had been imposed or were economic offenders themselves."

Referring to the charge of dictatorship, she said, if she had been interested in dictatorship, the elections would not have been held.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was doing heroically well with the slendar Congress majority after the 1967 General Elections and the Congress split of 1969; and so people gave her a landslide victory after the election of 1971.

Her absolute majority was the cause of her undoing. But she forgot the people who brought her to power.

Flatterers swarmed round her like flies to a honeypot, fleecing the people and placing the Prime Minister on the position of Goddess Durga.

Who was actually responsible for the proposal of Emergency? Did it spring from her own mind or somebody put it into her head? These question were answered by various commissions appointed by the Janata Government. We need not find an answer to them here.

Lindsay Emmerson in *the Statesman* special bulletin March 27, 1977 writes thus: "The ordinary citizen's opinion, as expressed at the polls, may indeed come near to that long held by thoughtful people who were forcibly prevented from expressing it that Emergency of June 1975 was in origin bogus, in conception arrogant, in operation mendacious and morally mean."

When the Emergency was suddenly sprung like a trap, accompanied by a possible convenient power failure which stopped publication of most capital's newspapers, there was widespread belief that it was less to save the country than to save the Prime Minister. Such belief was further strengthened when the detailed proceedings of an entire and highly important session of Parliament were blanked out. Only ministers' speeches were permitted publication.

Every important foreign journalist was thrown out of the country. Many Indian journalists were jailed and the rest were crushed mentally, morally and materially. A blatant propaganda was launched to counter immediate foreign reaction.

Regarding the behaviour of the ruling party and its hanger-on left the outgoing Union Minister for Labour, Mr. K.V. Raghunatha Reddy,

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testify. In his statement supporting the Congress for Democracy, he apparently wrote:

"Chief Ministers were summarily dismissed and others reduced to being mere lackeys. And what was worse, there was about to grow in the name of Youth Congress a dangerous amalgam of riff-raff wedded to no ideals, answerable to no one and engaged in unabashed pursuit of personal aggrandizement."

Mr. Mohan Changani, who resigned from Rajasthan Cabinet, accused Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Rajasthan Assembly of ruining the democratic functioning of the Congress Party, and its concept of joint leadership propagated by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nahru.

He alleged that the promulgation of emergency was a deep conspiracy on the part of Mrs. Gandhi and a coterie of sycophants, including Congress President, D.K. Borooah, and former Defence Minister Bansi Lal, to keep herself in power, and make her son, Sanjay Gandhi, a national leader.

On March 30th, 1977, Mr. Changani again made a statement in the House on his resignation from the Ministry. He alleged that all the norms and commitments made by the Congress earlier were given up by Mrs. Gandhi. Internal democracy within the party disappeared and culminated in one person authoritarian rule.

Mr. Changani alleged, "Mrs. Gandhi had employed Border Security Force, CRP, and some para-military organizations under the Home Ministry to create fear and terror among the people.

"Some also used the CBI and the Central Reveue Department intelligence authorities to blackmail influential persons and to terrorize them. The Radio, Television, and Samachar were misused and the democratic political structure of the country was completely destroyed."

Mr. Changani also referred to removal of Mr. H.N. Bahuguna and Mrs. Nandini Satpathy, from the Chief Ministership of U.P. and Orissa "through most undemocratic methods."

He said, "This is the time for heart-searching to find out whether the viable model of the Congress functioning created by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, which was broken after the 1971 polls, could be revived and the Congress could still become a rallying centre for democratic, progressive and socialist forces in the country".

I can never forget a small event that accured during the emergency. It was Sunday and the fourth day of January 1976. A girl aged at about seven or eight years and actually looking only six years was arrested by police officers of Kingsway Camp. She was challaned under section 110(G) of the Criminal Procedure Code which is meant for hooligans. When she was produced in court, her name was called about five times. She could not speak. When the S.D.M. shouted "Produce Saroj Bala" I picked up the girl on my shoulders and showed the court what the police was doing. In a fit of rage the S.D.M. dictated a strong letter to the I.G. and the D.I.G.

Although Saroj Bala was discharged and handed over to her parent,

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yet the event does not disappear from my memory. A small girl, only a child of course, was hauled up in the same manner as a very big scoundrel. What was the motive of the police, I cannot say.

At 1975 end, Sanjay was inducted into the Youth Congress and the beginning of 1976 into the Congress. He was a star performer on the Mataur Session; and he stole the thunder at the next session at Gauhati. His ambition vaulted. Fire was concentrated against select Chief Ministers and leaders of the erstwhile Socialist Forum. The first Chief Minister to be thrown out was Bahuguna and then Nandini.

Sanjay bred sycophants aplenty. Raghuramaiah, who regained his berth in the Cabinet, took the young man to coastal Andhra and addressing him, said: "I was a slave of your grandfather. I have been a slave of your mother, and I assure you that I will be your slave also" (*Blitz*, March 19,1977).

The terror being such, many of the Chief Ministers and presidents shed their self-respect and did knee-bending to keep their provincial thrones. Chief Minister Vengal Rao, fearing that Raghuramaiah would run away with the *gaddi*, also fell in line.

Since the middle of 1976, Sanjay started sniping at the Congress itself. Party leaders should "make room" for the youngsters, he thundered at Bhatinda. This compaign of denigration reached its unseemly climax at Gauhati, where the Congress President was insulted by members of the IYC.

The caucus, which ran a parallel government, took control of some of the key ministries. The Radio, TV and Samachar behaved as if they were a Maruti subsidiary.

For the thousands who suffered, MISA became a horror and a nightmare. Smugglers and racketeers could get in jail all the luxuries of a home life for the asking, but honest citizens were hunted and hounded into incarceration and subjected to such horrendous torture that they prayed for death. Many got it, but some lived, though maimed and crippled for life.

Lawrence Fernandes, the elder brother of George Fernandes was arrested on May 1, 1976. His another brother Michael, was also detained under MISA since December 22, 1975. Lawrence was taken to the office of the Corps of Detectives then acting as the corps of devils. He was greeted with a resounding slap which made him groggy. When he came out of his temporary unconsciousness, he was stripped and ten policemen fell upon him with sticks. The "softening" process included kicks with booted legs and filthy abuses. The beating was so severe that the sticks broke into pieces. There was hardly any place on his body which was not repeatedly hit. He crawled and cringed on the floor but his tormenters showed no mercy. The Emergency had turned them into heartless machines.

The then Home Minister Charan Singh made the shocking revelation in the Lok Sabha on March 31st, 1977 that the proclamation of internal

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emergency was signed by the President on June 25, 1975, and 'approved' by the Union Cabinet the next day.

Thus the approval of the presidential proclamation by the Cabinet was ex-post facto. It was violative of Article 74(1) of the Constitution which required the President to be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head. According to constitutional provisions, the President's proclamation could have been issued only on the advice of the Council of Ministers.

Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta (Janata) moved this resolution in Lok Sabha on April 1: "This House calls upon the Government to immediately appoint a high-powered committee consisting of some members of Parliament, judges and eminent public men to go into the question of joint deliberate conspiracy by the erstwhile Government of India, Maruti Limited, and its allied concerns and Mr. Bansi Lal (former Chief Minister of Haryana and former Defence Minister of India) against the country and the people such as Maruti and Nagarwala and numerous illegalities committee by Mr. Bansi Lal and submit the report to the Government within three months".

To this Mr. Madhu Limaye (Janata) moved an amendmant, seeking to delete the word 'erstwhile Government of India' and substitute the words 'former Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi'.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Gupta assured the Congress Opposition that he was not motivated by consideration of political venedetta in bringing the resolution before the House.

He read out from the *Washington Post* of November 10, 1976, a news item suggesting that Mr. Sanjay Gandhi was conducting himself as the virtual Prime Minister of India.

Mr. Gupta said Mr. Sanjay Gandhi managed himself to become the Managing Director of Maruti with his Rs. 100 investment in contravention of the company's articles of association which stipulated that to become a director one had to acquire at least one hundred shares of Rs. 10 each. This stipulation was changed to ten shares to facilitate Mr. Gandhi become the Managing Director.

Alleging Mr. Bansi Lal's complicity of helping Mr. Gandhi build his empire, Mr. Gupta said, some 445 acres of land was acquired from five villages and handed over to the company by the former Haryana Chief Minister at throw away prices.

Even this amount has not been fully paid to the State Government until 1975 and according to annual report of the company a sum of over Rs. 33 lakhs was still outstanding against the payment.

Mr. Gupta referred to Nagarwala episode in which Mr. V.P. Malhotra, former Chief Cashier of the State Bank of India, parted with Rs. 60 lakhs on a "mere telephone call" from the Prime Minister.

Mr. Gupta had met Nagarwala in Jail and learnt he had met Mrs. Gandhi twice. Mr. Nagarwala was done to death. Mr. Kashyap, the

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police officer, connected with investigation of the case was also killed deliberately.

Mr. Gupta recalled that 123 MPs had demanded an inquiry against Bansi Lal, but it fell on deaf ears because Bansi Lal had obliged Sanjay Gandhi. He sought and secured permission to give details of how crores of rupees had been embezzled from the Haryana Electricity Board by Sanjay and Bansilal.

Mr. Limaye wondered how Maruti was given foreign exchange when it had been categorically told that it would not be given any foreign exchange. He said instead of checking the activities of his son, Mrs. Gandhi had been always blaming the opposition for getting money from foreign countries.

It is alleged that Sanjay Gandhi looted the nationalized banks with both hands till they were unable to advance any further loans; and Dr. R.K. Hazari, Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank, refused to yield any further.

So, Mr. K.R. Puri, an insurance man, was made Governor of the Reserve Bank by 'virtue of subservience to Sanjay Gandhi' and a pitiable Income Tax Officer was made the Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank.

"Dr. Hazari, with all his distinguished record was moved out to an insignificant assignment.

"When the Emergency came, the banking system including the Reserve Bank of India, had fallen into the hands of Sanjay Gandhi. And during Emergency, the entire nationalised banking system was mercilessly abused to benefit Sanjay Gandhi's corrupt friends—be they Kapadias of the national Rayon, Alok Jain of the Sahu Jains, and of course the ever-present Birlas."

The Minister of Finance was deprived of important departments such as Banking, Income Tax, Customs, Industrial Development Bank, Credit Policy, and these were handed over to Pranab Kumar Mukherji, 'a servile waiter' of Sanjay Gandhi.

To get rid of Mr. Talwar, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, a special law was passed 'to enable the Government of India to dismiss any disobliging chairman of a nationalized bank by giving him three months' notice.'

The giant US Company, International Harvester, negotiated with Maruti which became its Indian agent. Bansi Lal gave Defence Ministry contracts for manufacturing military trucks to this new collaboration. Maruti also negotiated with Boeing aircraft for an agency. He also negotiated with a Japanese electronic company for agency. Another American company, the Piper Aircraft, signed an agreement with Maruti for sale of Piper planes to Indian State Governments and private business houses.

Sanjay Gandhi himself disclosed this in an interview published in *New York Times* of January 11, 1977. The Maruti signed agreements with West German companies, M.A.N. and DEMAS for building heavy trucks and cranes.

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Washington Post of November 10, 1976 wrote: "The public believes a vast swindle is going on. The bureaucrats say they can do nothing. Sanjay calls up Ministers and Secretaries and says, 'Give the contract to so and so'. He has Ministerial sanction and the Prime Minister supports him. Whether it is Defence Ministry contracts or civil service appointments the hand of Sanjay is visible."

The Congress candidate and ten other Congress workers should produce their sterilization certificates, then only we will votes for the Congress Candidate", with these words the simple folk expressed their indignation during 1977, an exercise in terror. Quotas were fixed for every district, for every *tehsil*, every village. Even teachers and government servants were given quotas for motivating illiterate folk. They had to do the job on the pain of losing their job.

Police force was employed for sterilization of people. One villager hanged himself instead of getting sterilized because he had seen that the police officers were replacing lathis with rifles and blows with bullets. Thus a vital social reform was sought to be enforced by terror. It was rumoured round the villages that the rich Congress leaders no longer wanted the poor to exist and they had decided to exterminate the race of the poor because the work of a machine was equal to the work done by a hundred men.

In U.P. this sterilization campaign called many brutal incidents. There were hundreds of cases of police firing in U.P. only to enforce sterilization drive, mainly among the poor people.

Government employees were denied various public facilities if they remained unsterilised after two children. Free medical facilities were limited only to those who accepted this norm; the rest either had to pay or were frequently turned away. In question of jobs, promotions, allotment of official housing, and school facilities preference was given to those with two children or less unless they were sterilised.

Birth control was the most emotional issue in the general elections of 1977. According to *Newsweek* "the aggressive family planning campaign conducted by Indira Gandhi's government produced more than seven million cases of sterilization".

In 1977, the Union Health Minister, Mr. Raj Narain, announced that the Central Government had directed the State Government to pay as compensation Rs. 5,000 or more to each of the victims of forcible family planning operations or to give appropriate monetary relief to all those who were suffering from its effects.

Mr. Raj Narain said he had received information that about 16 unmarried young men were operated upon in jails in Uttar Pradesh and Government was not releasing them. It feared that these cases would put the Congress Government to shame. He urged the State Government to release them without delay. Mr. Raj Narain also said that attempts were being made to destroy documents in Government departments at New Delhi to hide the misdeed of the Congress Government.

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The infamous 42nd Amendment to the Constitution provided for as many as 59 changes, a few innocuous, many draconian.

Under the umbrella of radical socio-economic transformation, 42nd Amendment abridged fundamental rights against the provisions of the founding fathers. Under these clauses, the party in power could declare any organization anti-national by legislation. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and High Court was restricted. No amendment to the Constitution could be called in question in any court.

The President could make a proclamation of the Emergency in respect of any part of the country. The period of emergency could last one year before renewal instead of six months. The chief central executive was made all powerful.

The maintenance of Internal Security Act is a part of the 9th schedule which means it could not be challenged in any court of law. It could be easily used for political purposes.

By amending the Representation of the People Act, the Congress Party put electoral offences by certain individuals—President, Prime Minister and the Speaker—beyond the scrutiny of court.

Prevention of the Publication of Objectionable Matters Act (PPOMA) together with the Parliament Proceedings (Protection) Repeal Act made censorship a permanent feature of life in the country.

The Congress Party curtailed fundamental rights and juidicial process to further its so-called 'progressive socio-economic measures'. Under this umbrella a package of 64 Central and State laws were included in the 9th Schedule.

The edifice of Indian freedom was destroyed in seven working days, beginning from October 26, 1976.

The human freedom promised in 1950 became a mirage. Fundamental Rights became a dirty word overnight.

The process of nibbling away the constitution by the political rats started after general elections of 1971. The Indira Government made 20 amendments in the Constitution between 1971 and 1976. The 42nd amendment was the most destructive of all.

The former law Minister Mr. Gokhale ridiculed the judges in the Lok Sabha on October 28, 1976 and warned them that if they did not fall in line with him, they will be thrown in the dustbin of history.

Four persons are considered resposible for the humiliating defeat inflicted on the Congress Party during elections—Sanjay Gandhi, Bansilal, V. C. Shukla and Om Mehta.

It was Sanjay Gandhi who is said to have advised the imposition of emergency, the suspension of the rule of law, and arrest of political opponents.

Mrs. Gandhi wanted to resign after the Allahabad judgment, but she was persuaded by the gang of four to declare emergency and remain in power. This gang of four committed heinous crimes under the 'royal umbrella' of the Prime Minister. Sanjay issued orders overruling all constituted autho-

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rity. Around him were a bunch of self-seekers, yesmen and opportunists. Sanjay put his own men in the Prime Minister's Secretariat and thereby blocked all channels of communication with the Prime Minister. He issued five-point programme and a departure from ideology. 'Talk less, work more' he said but his followers worked less and talked more both privately and publicly.

Bansilal was the prime instrument of the rule of terror. Ruthless and foul-mouthed, the built up a Nazi organization behind Sanjay. He used the power of the Defence Ministry for offensive against democracy. He was the hatchet man of Sanjay. He unleashed the cruelest programme of compulsory sterilization.

Om Mehta was defacto Home Minister and Brahmananda Reddy was reduced to nullity. Om Mehta operated from Sanjay's home. He was the able instrument, wiedling the law in favour of illegality and tyranny.

V.C. Shukla considered politics his personal fief. He took censorship to mean mental castration. He regarded criticism as treason.

India fought the First War of Independence in 1857, and the Second War of Independence, ninety years after, in 1947.

In the thirty years between 1947 and 1977, the democracy in India had degenerated into tyranny. 1977 elections are termed as the Third War of Independence against this tyranny. This war was included thousands of ballot box battles.

On the eve of elections, March 14, 1977, Jaiprakash Narayan appealed to the voters finally to cast their votes for the Janata Party, reminding them that his vision 'is of a free, progressive and Gandhian India. The Janata Party is pledged to this vision.'

'The India of my dreams,' he said, "is a community in which every individual, every resource is dedicated toserving the weak—a community dedicated to *antyodaya*, to the well-being of the least and the weakest. It is a community in which different views content peacefully, in which disagreements are settled in a civilised manner. It is a community in which fellowmen persuade each other, not bludge on each other.

"It is a community in which all have work—work which affords them a decent living and which satisfies them. It is a community in which each individual has enough to develop his creative potential to the maximum, in which everyone who toils with his hands has a share in owning and a say in managing factory or farm in which he toils. It is a community in which all have equal opportunities—a community in which the strong, the majorities themselves recognise the handicaps of the weak, of the minorities and go out of their way to assure them preferential facilities so that their historical handicaps are removed.

"The India of my dreams is a community in which every citizen participates in the affairs of the community, in which every citizen understands and participates in matters that transcend his immediate personal interests. It is a community in which citizens—specially the weak—are organised and awakened to implement reforms and to keep an eye over their rulers.

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It is a community in which officials and elected representatives are the servants of the people, in which the latter have the right and the opportunity to bring them to book if they go astray, in which office is not looked upon as a privilege, but as a trust given by the people. In short, my vision is of a free, progressive and Gandhian India and the Janata Party is pledged to this vision.

"Once the elections are over, I will myself launch a crusade to set up people's committees at every leavel for ensuring that the pledges are honoured."

The Indian National Congress in its eve-of-poll appeal to the eletorate asked for massive majority to defeat the forces of destabilization consisting of five political parties under the banner of Janata Party.

It asked : "How Gandhian India could be built by those who had sacrificed the Father of the Nation? It was an act of fraud".

The appeal made the points that the Indian National Congress was a a 'radical party without dogmatism' and a forward-looking party conscious of the nation's great destiny, pursuing the ideals of Gandhi and Nehru.

The leaders of the Janata Party and the Congress for Democracy appealed on March 14th to fellow countrymen on the eve of voting to remember that they had an historic responsibility in this election.

"Your own fate and the fate of your family and the country will be in your hands—in the form of the ballot paper." they said.

The appeal issued by the Janata Party headquarters in New Delhi was on behalf of Mr. Morarji Desai, Chairman, Janata Party, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Chairman, Congress for Democracy, Mr. Charan Singh, Vice-Chairman, Janata Party, and Mr. H.N. Bahuguna, General Secretary, Congress for Democracy.

These leaders said that they were sure that the voters would make the right choice.

The following are the excerpts from the appeal to voters :

"On the eve of voting, we appeal to you to remember your historic responsibility in this election. Your vote will determine the destiny of India for a whole generation. Your own fate and the fate of your family and the country will be in your hands—in the form of the ballot paper.

"The Prime Minister asserts that her dictatorship has been good for the poor people. This is only adding insult to the injuries of the poor. As everyone knows the poor and the minorities have suffered the most under her dictatorship. It is they who were sterilised with the brutal use of force. It is the slum-dwellers weose *jhuggis* were bulldozed. It is the poor industrial workers whose right to demand fair wages and to strike peacefully in support of their demands, was abolished.

"The services were demoralised by the naked abuse of unconstitutional authority. They were terrorised to commit atrocities and illegal acts at the behest of the rulers. Thousands of Government employees were fired and retired arbitrarily; while some others were jailed."

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Further it was added thus in the appeal to the voters :

"The rulers also want us to forget the atrocities of the past 20 months. It is, however, necessary that the trust about the excesses committed by the dictatorship is impartially inquired into and recorded for posterity. But in the true Gandhian spirit we would abstain from revenge and victimisation and extend compassion and forgiveness specially to civil servants and police personnels who were compelled to act against the law by the authoritarian regime.

"Mrs. Gandhi has said that she alone can give the nation a stable government. But our people do not want the precarious stability associated with dictatorship of a lonely family. They want the stability of a federal democratic government which derives its strength not from terror, not from the reduction of all institutions to a dead conformity, but from popular consent and strong democratic institutions and autonomous State Governments. We promise such stability.

"We are already pledged to restore all civil liberties and to launch a determined attack on poverty and unemployment. Our party members who are elected to Parliament are going to reaffirm this pledge at the *Samadhi* of Mahatma Gandhi in the presence of national leaders particularly, Shri Jaiprakash Narayan, Acharya Kripalani and Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who have inspired this struggle for Democracy.

"Your affection has enabled us to conduct an exceptionally peaceful and good election campaign with your own small contributions. We trust you will reach the polling booths in the early morning and put your stamp against the *Man with the Plough* on your ballot paper and thus give a new life to Mother India".

Mr. Charan Singh on February 26, 1977, addressed the large crowds ever assembled in the city of Ghaziabad.

He Said that Mrs. Indira Gandhi had virtually assumed position as a dictator. After she was disqualified by the High Court for six years, on use of corrupt practices in her election, she projected her individual case as that of the state, and even silly people like Mr. Barooah pampered that 'Indira is India and India is Indira.' When opposition wanted to raise a voice, she ushered in the Emergency and threw all opposition leaders in jail, under her creation of MISA, without any reason and without any opportunity of appeal in any court of law.

Mr. Charan Singh said further "today, in the eyes of the world India is a free country but in reality the people are not free to do anything at all and all fundamental lights of the people are suspended." He further stated, "The tender sapling of our long cherished democracy was destroyed before it could mature, by an individual for selfish ends.

"Censorship on the press", said Mr. Charan Singh, "had deprived the people of getting knowledge of what was happening." He said, "I spoke in State Assembly as opposition leader for four hours on 23.3.1976 and there was no report in the papers. Forty eight persons who protested against the excesses in family planning campaign in Muzzaffarnagar

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were shot by police firing, and the people could not know about this."

He further alleged "even the judiciary is coerced and compelled to dole out justice to whims and desires of the Prime Minister". He quoted a recent case of how the senior most judge of the Supreme Court was superseded to appoint Justice Baig as Chief Justice.

Mr. Charan Singh questioned the status and position of Sanjay Gandhi and what he had done for the country. He was critical of the state exchequer expenses being made on him, and the officers of government and ministers attending on him, only to please his mother, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

He added: "Now even the judiciary is being polluted and our governors and chief ministers play a fiddle to even the son of the Prime Minister."

According to Charan Singh the Prime Minister had announced the elections because she had miscalculated the pulse of the people and felt confirmed that the opposition would remain divided and would not have sufficient time to muster together.

He appealed to people to vote for the Janata candidates.

Mrs. Vijayalakshi Pandit on February 14, 1977, ended her self-imposed seven-year political exile to return to public life on behalf of Mr. Jagjivan Ram's Congress for Democracy.

In a statement, Mrs. Pandit said: "In the 1971 elections the Congress secured a huge majority but the promises of an egalitarian society made to the people did not open the gates to the promised land. In fact, contrary trends became immediately evident, resulting in the final declaration of internal emergency, with the jailing of thousands of people overnight."

Recalling what she told in American newspaper in an interview; she said she felt compelled to say, "that conditions were more repressive today in several ways than they had been under British rule".

On February 11, 1977, at Patna, the Janata Party Chairman, Shri Morarji Desai expressed the view that stability at the Centre and instability in the States do not go together in a democratic set up.

Addressing a largely attended election meeting of his party, Mr. Desai charged the ruling party with creating the climate of instability by blessing moves for toppling strong and stable Governments in several states.

He said Mrs. Gandhi never functioned in a democratic manner. When she was expelled from the Congress, she tried to remain in power by running a parallel Congress. Even after the judgement of the Allahabad High Court, she managed to remain in office by amending the Constitution.

"Of all the men who have had occasion to preside over the conduct of the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Mr. V.C. Shukla alone has the distinction of completely preventing the mass media under the Ministry's control, promoting divisions in the ranks of the Press and among journalists and reducing what was independent India's proudest

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boast—the existence of a press as free and untrammelled as in any of the democratic countries—temporarily into an abject mouthpiece of the Government. After this unblest record, the least that Mr. Shukla should have done was to quit the scene of his unholy activities instead of preaching ethics to the press.

"It is not the Indian Press, with all its faults, that is in need of an ethical code. It is Mr. Shukla who has to relearn his ethics and acquire respect for truth as the first moral duty of a Minister." These words were written in an editorial by the *Indian Express* dated March 16, 1977.

"Even for an astute politiclan like Morarji Desai", wrote *Blitz* of April 2, 1977 "constituting the cabinet looked like a difficult balancing task".

"Though as Prime Minister the Constitution has given him the prerogative of choosing his Council of Ministers, the announcemnt of the list was preceded by a great deal of consultation. What emerged is a highly satisfying synthesis of experience and talent, all committed to the well-being of the common man, the 'Janata which voted them to power."

A colossus among the politicians Morarji Desai at 82, was brimming with vitality. When a press reporter expressed doubts about his ability to shoulder the heavy burden of the high office, he quipped, "I am younger than you."

In his two short tenures as Chief Minister of U.P., Charan Singh earned an enviable reputation as an administrator par excellence. His simple-farmer personality brings the highest close to the lowest.

Jagjivan Ram got back the Defence portfolio which he held with distinction during the Bangladesh war.

H. N. Bahuguna, the Minister for Chemicals and Fertilizers, imparted dynamism to Congress for Democracy.

L. K. Advani, General Secretary of the Janata Party was the right man in the right place as Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

Atal Behari Vajpayee became the External Affairs Minister. He is a well-read man, an author and a poet-too.

H. M. Patel took the key portfolio of Finance.

Biju Petnaik became the Minister for Steel and Mines.

Mohan Dharia took the portfoliio of the Minister for Commerce and Civil Supplies.

Madhu Dandavate came as the Railway Minister.

Raj Narain, the Minister of Health under Desai Government has been the great hero of the '*Indira Hatao*' movement.

Geroge Fernandes handled the portfolio of the Minister of Communications.

Mr. Purushottam Kaushik, who defeated V. C. Shukla became the Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation.

Parkash Singh Badal, the Minister of Irrigation and Agriculture, later on went away as Chief Minister of the Punjab.

Shanti Bhushan, the Minister of law, Justice and Company Affairs,

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shot into fame after the brilliant handling of Raj Narain's election petition against Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Dr. Pratap Chander Chunder, the Minister of Education was our greatest educationist.

Sikander Bakht, the new Works and Housing Minister was the representative of the minority community,.

P. Ramachandran, the Minister of Energy was an Congress-O leader.

Mr. Ravindra Varma, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Labour, was also a Congress-O leader.

"For the last 21 months, the country lived through under the nightmare of absolute rule, wherein people were deprived of their fundamental rights and civil liberties, the judiciary lost its independece, the press was muzzled and the voice of dissent was silenced", wrote Acharya J.B. Kripalani who added further :

"In this helpless condition, many people asked me how this fear and terror could be removed. My reply was that 'there seems to be no human remedy, but God has not become bankrupt'. And, through His grace the remedy was supplied by the very persons who had let loose the reign of terror . . ."

Let me end this chapter with relevant words from Shri Jaiprakash Narayan himself :

"The question is even larger. It is how to bring a systematic change in the society i.e., how to bring about what I have called total revolution; revolution in every sphere and aspect of society. The question becomes harder to answer when it is added that the total revolution has to be peacefully brought about without impairing the democratic structure of society and affecting the democratic way of life of the people. Put in this way, even the most legalistic and constitutionalist democrat would agree that all this could never be accomplished if the functioning of democracy were restricted to elections, legislation, planning and administrative execution. There must also be people's direct action. The action will almost certainly comprise, among other actions, civil disobedience, peaceful resistance, non-cooperation—in short *satyagraha* in its widest sense. One of the unstated implication of such *satyagraha* would be self-change ; that is to say those wanting a change must also change themselves before launching any kind of action."

Janata Party swept the States on the pattern of March 1977 parliamentary elections. The victorious Janata Party stormed into power in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and consolidated its position in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi and Punjab where, on its own or together with its allies, it had already been voted to power. Its dazzling performance in these States was not, however, reflected in the results from West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry

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where it was trailing behind its rivals. In Bihar also the party was leading.

In Tamil Nadu, the All India Anna DMK secured an absolute majority and in West Bengal, the CPI-M led Left Front had captured a majority of the seats. In Pondicherry no party secured an absolute majority in the 30-member Assembly.

Former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. Karunanidhi, former SVD Deputy Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. V.K. Saklecha, a Rajya Sabha member, Master Adityendra, President of the Janata Party's Rajasthan unit and Mr. Jagannath Mishra, former Congress Chief Minister of Bihar and Mr. Jyoti Basu, former West Bengal Chief Minister (CPI-M) were among those elected.

So impressive was the Janata Party's performance that its landslide victory had given it two-third majority in Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh it bagged 215 of the 295 seats.

The Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, asserted in the Rajya Sabha that the first returns in the assembly elections had vindicated the government's decision to dissolve the assemblies in nine states and order fresh poll there.

Amidst applause from the treasury benches, he said the election results had proved beyond any doubt that the acting President Mr. B.D. Jatti, was correct in issuing the ordinance to this effect on April 30, 1977 in relation to Bihar, U.P., Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and West-Bengal.

The demand for the resignation of Mr. Brahmananda Reddy from party Presidentship and of Mrs. Indira Gandhi from the party was made by a few Congress MPs in the wake of the party's rout in the Assembly elections.

In a statement, Mr. N.P. Shahi, MP and an AICC member demanded the resignation of Mr. Reddy from Presidentship and of all his nominees from the Working Committee.

He said the election results had shown again that the people were not ready to tolerate persons who were responsible for the emergency. It was now clear beyond doubt that those who wanted to establish a dictatorship could never be allowed to run the affairs of the country.

Mr. Shahi alleged that the same 'corrupt leaders and palace guards' who were responsible for the party's debacle in the Lok Sabha elections had captured the organisation with money and through manipulation.

Mr. D.D. Desai, MP said in a statement that Mrs. Indira Gandhi had 'betrayed the trust' of Congressmen and should have resigned or been expelled from the party. "A party with nearly a hundred years sacrifices could not be allowed to go down for the sake of an individual. One Congress was voluntarily liquidated by Mr. Morarji Desai and the other by Mrs. Gandhi," he said.

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After the Lok Sabha elections, explanation and apologies were tendered which made Congressmen give her the benefit of doubt. But the Assembly election results had conclusively removed all ground for giving any such benefit to her and there was a mass rally on 25th June demanding, 'Indira should be behind the bars.'

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16. *Trinity Superseded*

The appointment of Shri Ajit Nath Ray as the 13th Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India and the supersession of the quiting judges is a water-shed in the history of the Indian Judiciary. This decision, says Kuldip Nayar, "will be discsused and rediscussed for a long time to come, though the edge of controversy might get blunted." In the beginning of 1951 Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the State Chief Ministers after the Patna High Court's decision on the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act:

"It is well-known that the abolition of the Zamindari system has been a principal plank in the Congress programme for many years. Indeed, it may well be said that radical agrarian reform is the basic problem of Asia. If this is to be prevented, then our entire social and economic policy fails and the hundreds of millions of peasants and agriculturists can well charge us with a grave breach of promise. An intolerable situation would be created. At the same time it is obvious that the interpretation of the Constitution is a function of our superior Courts. We have to respect the decision of the Courts, for not to do so is to strike at the very root of our Constitutional structure. The executive and the judiciary have to pull together, even though they function separately and independently. While our Courts have the right to interpret the Constitution and we must respect and honour their decision, the fact remains that the wider social policy of the country must be determined by Parliament of the States legislature."

There is no doubt that our judiciary has to work with the executive and the legislature, but is was a sad day when it started working for them.

On April 26, 1973 Hon'ble A.N. Ray was appointed as the Chief Justice of India because he followed all the instructions of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mr. Ray was superseding three judges of our Supreme Court.

The supersession was described by almost all the Bars of the country as an act of aggression by the executive in the judiciary. It was committed the day following the delivery of the judgment in the Fundamental Rights case, which by a majority overruled the Golaknath decision and conceded to Parliament the full right of amendment of the Constitution including even the abrogation of each and every fundamental right.

When people's Fundamental Rights were abrogated, the betrayal of

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the people become very much clear.

Before taking charge of their office Judges have to take an oath to bear allegiance to the Constitution and to uphold it without fear or favour. The only social philosophy they can validly hold is the one contained in the Constitution, without regard to the ideology held by any particular party. Allegaince by him to any philosophy other than the one contained in the Constitution is contrary to the oath solemnly taken by him.

"The right claimed by the Government to select a person by the particular social philosophy he holds is dangerous, firstly because it is an exclusive right which it claims and secondly because at best it can be subjective only. If his judicial pronouncements are to be indicia that is nothing short of inducing him to mould his pronouncements according to the views currently held by a particular Government". This is what Mr. J.M. Shelat believes.

No question of Parliament's sovereigntly can possibly arise in a Constitution such as ours. The Preamble to our Constitution declares in unequivocal terms that sovereignty resides in the People. Therefore all authorities—legislative, executive or the judiciary—derive their powers from that Constitution and from nowhere else.

Under the light of our Constitution the executive has no right to overawe the judiciary which is supposed to be ever independent. Mr. Kawdoor Sadananda Hegde who resigned from the post of a Supreme Court Judge said:

"When Chief Justice Kania died the Government was said to be thinking of appointing Justice B.K. Mukherjee as the Chief Justice though Justice Patanjali Sastri was senior to him. On coming to know of the Government's proposal, all the Judges of the Supreme Court, including Justice Mukherjee, threatened to resign. Consequently, the Government revised its decisoin and Justice Sastri was appointed as the Chief Justice.

"After, the Congress split in 1969, there was persistent talk of appointing committed Judges to the Supreme Court. At about the time of the retirment of Chief Justice Hidayatullah, there was a strong rumour that the late Mohan Kumaramangalam would be appointed Chief Justice. On 27 November 1970 the Supreme Court Bar Association passed a resolution condemning the move to appoint an outsider. On 30 November, 1970, the appointment of Justice Shah as Chief Justice in succession to Chief Justice Hidayatullah was announced. Justice Shah took charge of his office on 16 December 1970 and retired five weeks later, on 21 January 1971. There was again talk of appointing an outsider Chief Justice and the Supreme Court Bar met on 14 January 1971 and passed a resolution supporting the convention that had been established for the appointment. Justice Sikri's appointment as Chief Justice was made three days before Chief Justice Shah retired. But appointment of Justice Ray as the new Chief Justice was kept a guarded secret till the afternoon of the 25 April 1973, a day before Chief Justice Sikri's retirement.

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"The supersession of the three seniormost Judges had naturally shocked the Bar all over the country. On the evening of 25 April 1973 the President of the Bar Council of India strongly condemned the supersession and over 7,000 advocates of the Bombay Bar boycotted all the Courts and Tribunals in Bombay on 26 April 1973. On that day, the Supreme Court Bar Association met and by an overwhelming majority condemmed the supersession. They also decided to boycott the Courts on 27 April 1973. Mr. M.C. Chagla, the former Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and the former Minister for Education, presiding over the meeting of the Supreme Court's Bar Association on the 26th, observed that 25 April 1973 was a black day in the history of our country.

"The Supreme Court Bar Association called upon the Indian Bar to observe 3 May as the solidarity day. The members of the Bar throughout India boycotted all Courts and Tribunals on the 3rd May 1973. By and large, all Bar Associations passed resolutions condemning the supersession of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the appointment of a comparatively junior Judge as the Chief Justice of India. The new appointment was a serious blow to the independence of the judiciary."

"The Chairman of the Law Commission, Mr. Setalvad, as well as most of the other members, Mr. M.C. Chagla, Chief Justice Sikri and Mr. N.A. Palkhivala, all condemned the supersession. No member of the Commission supported it.

The Law Commission Report merely stated that "for the performance of the duties of Chief Justice of India, there is needed, not only a Judge of ability and experience, but also a competent administrator capable of handling complex matters that may arise from time to time, a shrewd Judge of men and personalities, and above all, a person of sturdy independence and towering personality who would, on the occasion arising, be a watchdog of the independence of judiciary."

"India's Minister for Law and Justice did not expressly say that the three superseded Judges did not possess the qualities prescribed by the Law Commission, though his statement in Parliament did imply that they lacked those qualifications. He did not place before Parliament or the public any material to show that either the supreseded Judges did not possess those qualifications or the new Chief Justice possessed them. His assertion that the new Chief Justice was appointed on the basis of suitability was merely an *ipse dixit*. There are no facts or circumstances to support his assertion.

Before the Rajya Sabha he emphasised the fact that the new Chief Justice had the courage to uphold the Government's contention in some important cases. If that circumstance had weighed with the Government in making the selection then there was no doubt that the Government destroyed by one stroke not merely the independence of the judiciary but also the rule of law. The procedure adopted in appointing the new Chief Justice was wholly alien to our democratic set-up. The appointment was politically motivated. That was also the view taken by Justice Sikri as

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well as by the other eminent jurists. We were betrayed by our executive.

The Lok Sabha discussed the supersession of the three Judges on 3 May 1973. On that day, surprisingly enough, the main speaker on behalf of the Government was Kumaramangalam, the Minister for Steel and Mines. In the words of Mr. K.S. Hegde: "He told the Lok Sabha the real reasons for superseding the three senior Judges. He made it plain that the Government wanted to appoint a Chief Justice who would be helpful to the Government, who would understand and appreciate the policies of the Government, who would not have a confrontation with the Government, and who would respond to the changing winds. In short, he told the Lok Sabha that the Government wanted the Chief Justice to be subservient to the Government."

Mr. K.S. Hegde observes:

"The supersession of the Judges is not an isolated act. It is a part of a scheme. Ever since the Congress split in 1969, several important Communists have entered the ruling party in pursuance of a policy adopted in 1964, viz., to capture the Congress from within and to pervert our Constitution. The various steps taken by our Government since the 1971 elections bear testimony to the enormous influence wielded by the Communists. An independent judiciary and the guaranteeing of human rights to the citizens are incompatible with the Communist system. For all practical purposes the Congress horse is now being ridden by the Communists. An ex-communist was the main spokesman on behalf of the Government before the Lok Sabha when the question of the supersession of judges came up for consideration. It is worth remembering that it is mainly the members of the C.P.I. and their fellow travellers in the Congress who supported the supersession.

"The people are being systematically cheated of their rights. They are deprived of their freedoms one by one. The destruction of the independence of the judiciary is an act of treachery and a fraud on our Constitution. The profession of faith in democracy by some of our leaders is a mere cloak to hide their real intentions. Their acts bely their profession. Unless the people shake off their lethargy and find out the *real politik* behind the recent developments, they will soon find themselves deprived of all their rights."

This opinion of a former judge of the Supreme Court of India shows that even in 1973, the Indians were being betrayed by Indira's Government. Their lawful rights were being trampled over and they were at the mercy of the rulers even when a state of Emergency was not announced.

Justice Grover's letter of resignation

April 26, 1973.

Rashtrapatiji,

In accordance with Article 124 (2) (a) of the Constitution, I may be permitted to resign my office as a Judge of the Supreme Court of India

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with effect from the afternoon of May 31, 1973.

I was appointed a Judge of the Punjab High Court in 1957 and of the Supreme Court in 1968. During my tenure as a Judge I have endeavoured to perform my duties without fear or favour and with the utmost sense of integrity and honesty. My supersession in the matter of recent appointment of the Chief Justice of India has caused utmost pain and anguish to me, as in accordance with the tradition and practice which has throughout prevailed in our Court I would have been due for appointment as Chief Justice being senior to Justice A.N. Ray. Moreover my tenure would have been consistent with the recommendations of the Law Commission as my date of retirement was later than that of Justice A.N. Ray.

I am unable, in these circumstances, to effectively serve the country on the Bench of the Supreme Court. Kindly accept my resignation.

Yours faithfully,
A.N. GROVER

Shri V.V. Giri
President of India,
Rashtrapati Bhawan,
New Delhi.

Our Constituent Assembly discussed at length the appointment, the conditions of service and the age of retirement as well as the guarantee of independence to the Judges. As regards the mode of appointment embodied in Article 124(2) of the Constitution—a number of amendments were moved for completely eliminating executive discretion. Professor Shibban Lal Saxena's amendment related particularly to the appointment of the Chief Justice of India. He emphasised that "the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court should be completely independent of the executive." Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava felt that if the appointment of the Chief Justice was confirmed in the aforesaid manner it would inspire much more confidence in him and would also raise his prestige. While speaking in the context of the provisions relating to the age of retirement, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said, "It is important that these Judges should be not only first rate but should be acknowledged to be first rate in the country, and of the highest integrity, if necessary people who can stand up against the executive and whoever may come in their way."*

The Supreme Court of India was inaugurated on 28 January 1950. In his welcome address, Mr. M.C. Setalvad, (then Attorney General of India) referred to the Federal Court of India which had "built up a great tradition." Chief Justice Kania in his reply referred to the wide jurisdiction, manifold powers and functions of the Supreme Court and said, "Clothed with the duty of performing such important functions, it is obvious that, as in all democratic countries, the Supreme Court should

*C.A. Debates, Vol. VIII. page 247.

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be quite untouchable by the legislature or the executive authority in the performance of its duties.* He further expressed the hope that the people of India would maintain the independence, honour and dignity of the Supreme Court.

In 1970, Dr. George H. Gadbois Jr., Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Kentucky, came to India to make an empiricial study of the Supreme Court. He paid the highest tribute to the Court in these words:

"The Justices of the Supreme Court of India occupy a unique place among the public policy decision-making elite of the nation. More than any other segment of this elite, they are viewed as exemplars of honesty and integrity in public life."

If on a proper interpretation of the Constitution it became necessary to declare any legislation void the Court never hesitated to perform its duty. Even in those cases in which executive action or legislative enactment was challenged on the ground of violation of Fundamental Rights the attitude of the Judges was reflected in the classical words of Chief Justice Patanjali Shastri: "If then the courts in this country face up to such important and none too easy task it is not out of any desire to tilt at the legislative authority in a crusader's spirit but in the discharge of a duty plainly laid upon them by the Constitution. This is especially true as regards the Fundamental Rights as to which this Court has been assigned the role of a sentinel on the *qui vive*."

Though the executive power of the President is apparently expressed in unlimited terms, an implied limitation has been placed on his power on the ground that he is a constitutional head of the executive and that the real executive power vests in the Council of Ministers. In the early years after the Constitution came into force there was some controversy about the powers of the President. It is now settled that the real executive power vests in the Council of Ministers. A question can at once arise whether such a convention can be disregarded in the manner in which it was done in the case of the appointment of the Chief Justice of India. A departure from the convention relating to the powers of the President raised a constitutional crisis of the first magnitude.

Regarding the supersession of judges of the Supreme Court in 1963, Hon'ble Mr. Justice A.N. Grover says:

"The main controversial cases to which alone all the three superseded Judges were parties were the bank nationalisation** case and the privy purse*** case and the latest decision on the validity of the 24th, 25th and 29th**** Constitutional Amendments. The full Bench that heard the bank nationalisation case consisted of J.C. Shah, S.M. Sikri, G.K. Mitter, C.A.

*Proceedings of the Inaugural sitting of the Supreme Court of India (1950 S.C.R. 7).

**(1970) 3 S.C.R. 530.

***(1971) 3 S.C.R. 9.

****Writ Petition Nos. 135/70, 351, 352, 373, 374/72 etc. decided on 24 April 1973.

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Vaidyalingam, K.S. Hegde, A.N. Grover, A.N. Ray, P. Jaganmohan Reddy and I.D. Dua JJ. The majority consisted of 10 Judges. A.N. Ray was the only dissenting Judge whose judgment went in favour of the Government on every point (as many as 12 main questions were involved in it). There has been a lot of criticism of the majority judgment both from government quarters and those who had evolved a new expression called "commitment". The main gravamen of the charge against the majority was that it represented a slide back on "compensation" which had been interpreted rightly in *State of Gujarat v Shantilal Maganlal*.* The other questions of material importance and particularly the decision on the principle that Articles 19 (1) and 31 (2) are not mutually exclusive, which virtually had the effect of overruling the decision in *Gopalan's*** case, and which constituted the charter of the right to freedom of speech, personal liberty and other rights guaranteed by Part III of the Contitution, never appear to have engaged the attention of the critics of the majority decision. Moreover the Court rejected the formidable contentions of the petitioner that Parliament had no legislative competence to enact the measure. What is more significant is that the Court did not accede to the argument that nationalisation of Banks could not be said to be in public interest. In fact, after the judgment a fresh act was passed laying down correct legal principles and the socio-economic reform of bank nationalisation went through unchallenged. Whatever the merits of the decision, the fact remains that there was a solid majority of ten Judges of experience and standing which must be regarded as authoritative even if the decision was not palatable to the Government. At least three of the Judges, namely, V. Ramaswami, V. Bhargava and G.K. Mitter, who formed the minority in the Golak Nath case, along with Wanchoo and Bachawat could not be regarded as having a rigid approach in favour of the Fundamental Rights which came to be attributed to Subba Rao, the Chief Justice.

"After the decision in the bank nationalisation case a strong lobby was being built up against the Supreme Court. There was a good deal of talk of "packing" the Court—a phrase which was borrowed from the United States, when President Roosevelt threatened to do so owing to the opposition from the Court to his New Deal legislation. In the booklet entitled "Judicial Appointments" whose author is the late Mr. S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, there is a whole chapter on it. Admittedly, however, the proposal to pack the Court never went through as the Judges themselves after the election of President Roosevelt validated his crucial legislation. We heard a good deal about "packing" even during the hearing of the Constitutional Amendment cases from counsel appearing on behalf of the Government. It is a strange irony that for those matters which suit the executive it immediately turns to the United States of America

*(1969) 3 S.C.R. 341.
**1950 S.C.R. 88.

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which has an economy based entirely on capitalist system which is almost alien to the socialistic pattern of society which is sought to be built up in our country. It is also completely forgotten that in the United States all the Fundamental Rights came to be conferred by amendments to the Constitution whereas here even the State legislatures under the newly enacted Article 31-C have been empowered by a bare majority to enact legislation which can wholly take away or abridge the Fundamental Rights conferred by Articles 14, 19 and 31. Even a judicial review was sought to be barred so long as the law is meant to give effect to the policy of the State towards securing the principles specified in Clauses (b) or (c) of Article 39.

"The privy purses case was one of its own kind. The course of events was telltale. On 2 September 1970, the Constitution (24th Amendment) Bill 1970 had been introduced in the Lok Sabha. It provided mainly for the omission of Articles 291 and 362 as also Article 366(22) from the Constitution. Article 291 related to the privy purses of the rulers of the "Indian States". Article 362 dealt with the rights and privileges of the rulers. Article 366(22) contained the definition of a "ruler". The Bill was declared passed in the Lok Sabha on 5 September 1970. However, the motion for consideration of the Bill failed to obtain the requisite majority in the Rajya Sabha by a fraction of votes. A few hours thereafter the President of India, purporting to exercise the powers under Article 366(22), signed and issued an executive order withdrawing recognition of all rulers. One of the main points which was of fundamental importance was whether a purpose which could be achieved only by constitutional amendment could be made effective by an executive order. The Full Bench which heard the case consisted practically of all the Judges who constituted the earlier Bench that had heard the bank nationalisation case. The only difference was that on the later occasion M. Hidayatullah, Chief Justice, presided and Ramaswami had retired by that time. Several points were raised and decided which cannot be gone into here. But the majority consisting of nine Judges, including the Chief Justice and the three superseded Judges, struck down the President's order holding that Article 366(22) did not empower him to amend the Constitution by an executive order. Only G.K. Mitter and A.N. Ray gave dissenting judgements. The dissent of G.K Mitter was confined to the narrow question whether Article 366 was a bar to the maintainability of the writ petitions. The Judge dismissed the petitions on the ground that it constituted a bar. He along with the majority rejected the claim put forward on behalf of the Government that paramountcy, which is "a concept of the British crown", vested in the President even after the establishment of a sovereign democratic republic in India. G.K. Mitter went so far as to criticise the order of the President as, according to him, the proper course to follow was for the President to make a reference to the Supreme Court under Article 143 instead of making an executive order.

"A.N. Ray was the only Judge who decided every point in favour of

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the Government. According to him the power to recognise or de-recognise a ruler was a political power and no judicial process could be invoked to challenge the exercise of that power—an argument advanced by the Attorney-General but rejected by the majority of nine judges apart from G.K. Mitter. In the booklet of the late Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam this decision has been criticised on the ground that the Government had acted in having the executive order issued by the President on the basis of the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in an earlier case, *Usman Ali Khan v Sagarmal.* It is astounding that such a position could have been put forward, because if Usman Ali's case was to be followed there was no necessity for first seeking to get the Constitution amended by Parliament in accordance with the procedure laid down by Article 368. It appears that the legal advisers of the Government thought of Usman Ali's case only after the attempt to get the Constitutien amended had failed.

"After the decision in the privy purses case, talk of packing the Court and having "committed" Judges was more and more in the air. S.M. Sikri, soon after his appointment as Chief Justice, said that he greatly deprecated such ideas, particularly that of having "committed" Judges if it meant commitment to the policy of the Government. Mr. H.R. Gokhale, a lawyer and an ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court who had taken over the portfolio of Law and Justice as a Minister in the Union Government, started following a procedure which was hitherto unknown in the matter of appointment of Judges. He took upon himself the task of discussing with the Chief Justice or even trying to persuade him to recommend such Judges who were the nominees of the Government. This was one of the main inroads on the independence of the Court as the Judges of the High Courts henceforward started looking to the executive for being appointed to the Supreme Court. Another noticeable feature was the denigration of the judiciary. Persons in responsible positions including Ministers, started saying all kinds of things in derogation of the Judges and the Court."

There was no Bar Association in the country nor any eminent jurist who did not condemn in the strongst possible terms the supersession of the three Judges and the appointment of the new Chief Justice. It was described as "a blatant attempt at undermining the independence and impartiality of the judiciary and lowering the prestige and dignity of the Supreme Court."

In the Lok Labha, on 2 May, India's Minister for Steel and Mines unfolded his new doctrine in the matter of appointment of the Chief Justice. His statement was understood by Mr. Setalvad as meaning that the Government wanted a person who shared the Government's understanding of the philosophy of the Constitution to be the Chief Justice.

In his booklet Mr. Kumaramangalam elaborated the matter a great deal and tried to put a new gloss on his statement owing to the storm that the enunciation of his doctrine had raised among the intelligentsia in general and in legal circles in particular.

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The members of that Commission never imagined that the Chief Justice should be appointed by taking into consideration his philosophy. A distinguished member of that Commission, Mr. M.C. Chagla, asked, "whose philosophy is it ? The philosyphy of the ruling party or the philosophy of Kumaramangalam who has a gospel of his own?" If the Government had its way all future appointments to the Supreme Court and the High Court would have been 'unashamedly political in character'.

At the time of A.N. Ray's appointment as Chief Justice of India on April 26, 1973 Jaya Prakash Narayan made his appeal to our nation and said:

"The simple fact is that if the appointment of the Chief Justice of India remains entirely in the hands of the Prime Minister of India, as has been the case in the present instance, then the highest judicial institution of this country cannot but become a creature of the government of the day.

"Therefore, my appeal to the Prime Minister is that she should appoint a parliamentary committee, representative of all the Parties in Parliament, to go into this vital question and make recommendations to Parliament. The committee naturally should have power to consult public opinion including the opinion of the Bar and of eminent jurists. The procedure evolved and recommended should also apply *mutatis mutandis* to the High Courts.

"In sum, unless constitutional safeguards are provided to restrain Parliament from abrogating the fundamental freedoms of the citizen except for suspending them for temporary periods and in clearly specified circumstances, and unless the independence of the judiciary is *credibly* assured, the very foundations of our democracy will be in the danger of being totally destroyed."

In response to JP's appeal Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi wrote a letter to him on June 9, 1973. Here is the text of that letter :

New Delhi,
9th June, 1973

Dear Jayaprakashji,

I have your letter of May 16. I saw your statement in the newspapers when it was released to the press. Now that you have taken the trouble of sending it to me, I presume a few comments from me would be in order and might even be expected.

It is gracious of you to assure me that you are not against me personally. It has been a privilege to have had your friendship over the years, whatever our political differences. Dissent is indispensable to democracy. Equally indispensable is a readiness to shoulder responsibilities in order to fulfil the dreams of a people.

You have said that your early visions have remained unfulfilled. This has been true of all battles, all quests. But the duty of working for the vision continues. It is the function of our political system and of all organs of Government—legislature, the executive and the judiciary—to work for the vision.

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You have drawn some dismal conclusions from the recent appointment of the Chief Justice. May I submit to you that these conclusions are unwarranted ? There is no question here of the executive subordinating the judiciary. Some time ago there was a fear of a head-on collision between the legislature and the judiciary. Many in the legal profession declared that Parliament would tend to be irresponsible unless it was restrained by the judiciary. Even at that time I pointed out that the theory that the judiciary alone was the custodian of the Constitution was erroneous. Fortunately the Court itself has changed its stand on this question with the repudiation of the Golak Nath Judgment.

The experience of other nations with an independent judiciary also proves that although the judiciary is generally on the side of the *status quo*, it does respond to changed social needs. A famous instance of change is the attitude of the American court. Once it had upheld slavery and racial discrimination but later disowned them and walked in step with the more liberal urges of society. The various pronouncements regarding property by our own court have been so confusing that many people, who do not believe that property is a sacrosanct fundamental right, would wish our judiciary to take a more modern view of the matter.

Frequent reversals of stand, not always in a more liberal, more humane direction, were the main difffculty with our judicial decisions in the last decade or so. There was obvious need for greater continuity of ideas and vision. The seniority principle had led to an unduly high turnover of Chief Justices. I take it that no one maintains that the rule of law is safeguarded only by the principle of seniority. In the appointment of the new Chief Justice, we have only freed ourselves of a convention which had the sanction neither of the Constitution nor of rationality. It would be atrocious to think that the independence of the judiciary is thereby affected. The outcry and controversy which have attended the appointment seem to me to be wholly misplaced.

You have spoken about the competing rights of democracy and socialism. It has been our endeavour throughout our struggle for freedom and during these 25 years as an independent nation to reconcile the two. I am perhaps more confident than you that we can achieve this reconciliation. Democracy, independence of the judiciary and fundamental rights are not in danger. They would be threatened if we were to allow our faith to be eclipsed by defeatism and if we help alliances of the extreme right and left.

Yours sinc.
INDIRA GANDHI

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan
Kadam Kuan
Patna-3

Towards the close of June 1973 Jayaprakash Narayan sent a reply to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Here is Jayaprakash Narayan's Rejoinder.

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Patna
June 27, 1973

Dear Indiraji,

I thank you for taking the trouble of replying to my statement on fundamental rights and the appointment of the Chief Justice of India.

I have no desire to enter into an argument with you. Indeed, the several points you have raised in your letter have all been very competently discussed in the press by some of the best constitutional lawyers and writers in the country. Important party leaders have also dealt with them in Parliament and outside.

However, as far as my statement is concerned, the points raised in your letter have little relevance. I have not said anything against change, nor have I pleaded for the rights to property, because I do not consider these to be fundamental in the same sense as the rights to freedom of expression and association. In fact, I would be happy if property rights were separated from fundamental rights, through the values and norms of democracy would still require that the powers of the executive to interfere with property, even in the public interest, be appropriately regulated by law.

Nor, again, have I upheld any convention, either that of seniority or any other, including the one recommended by the Law Commission. My plea is a very simple one : there being a national consensus—with the Government, the Opposition and public opinion agreeing—that the independence of the judiciary must be preserved, it is necessary to provide in the Constitution appropriate procedures to secure that objective. In respect to the appointment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which is only a part of the question of independence of the judiciary, the present position is that the Prime Minister (acting, of course, through the President) is completely free to appoint anyone he or she may wish. Even the President of the U.S.A. who in certain respects is more powerful, constitutionally, than the Prime Minister of India, does not enjoy such unlimited power in this respect. It is curious that in appointing Judges of the Supreme Court the Constitution should require the President, i.e., the Prime Minister, to follow a certain procedure of consultation, but that he should have untrammelled authority in appointing the Chief Justice. It should be obvious that as long as the seniority convention lasted, no question of procedure arose.

The simple fact is, as I have said in my statement, that if the appointment of the Chief Justice of India remains entirely in the hands of the Prime Minister of India, as has been the case in the present instance, then the highest judicial institution of this country cannot but become a creature of the Government of the day.

I cannot conceive of any person, committed to democracy, disagreeing with this simple proposition. It is not a question of doubting your or anyone else's good faith. No individual or party can remain in power for all

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times. When we make laws, more so, the fundamental law of the land, we have to think not of ourselves but of generations to come.

Coming to your remarks about what I have said in my statement about the competing rights of democracy and socialism, I would again submit that "we" should cease to think in terms of "ourselves" being in power for ever. You say that "It has been our endeavour throughout our struggle for freedom and during these 25 years as an independent nation to reconcile the two. I am perhaps more confident than you that we can achieve this reconciliation."

Suppose I grant you that what guarantee is there that another government with other ideas of democracy and socialism will also be able to reconcile the two?

Here also my plea is quite simple. The Supreme Court has decided that Parliament has powers even to abrogate the fundamental rights, including the rights to freedom of expression, association, movement, etc. My plea is that Parliament must agree to provide for constitutional constraints upon its own power, so as to prevent another Parliament in the future, whose commitment to democracy may not be particularly strong and whose concept of socialism may be very different from that of the present Government, from extinguishing the fundamental freedoms of the citizen and establishing a dictatorship. The argument that no Constitution can stand in the way of the people's will, which more often than not means the will of a minority of determined and ruthless political manipulators usually backed by the force of arms, betrays defeatism and confusion of thought on the part of those arguing in this manner, or it heralds the infiltration of trojan horses into the ranks of democratic socialists.

It was in view of these considerations that I had appealed to you as Prime Minister to appoint a Parliamentary committee to go into these questions and report to Parliament, which might enact the necessary laws and constitutional amendments.

My statement was "an earnest appeal" to you, and if your letter is your considered response to that appeal, I can only confess to a sense of utter disappointment and deep distress. Is it a vain hope that you may still be persuaded to give further thought to this vital and far reaching question ?

With warm regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Smt. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

On May 2 1973 our Minister for Steel and Mines Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam addressed the lok Sabha on this point and concluded thus:

"I would like to put before the House the final conclusions. Firstly, it is not an essential pre-condition to the proper working of the democratic system that the Chief Justice must be appointed on the basis of

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seniority, but on the contrary, such a practice can only lead to harmful consequences, as the wrong man may well be appointed by the accident of seniority, and seniority often means that no Judge will serve for a long enough period to give continuity and leadership to the Court. Secondly, it is not an essential pre-condition to the proper working of the democratic system that a Judge prior to appointment should be innocent of political views or convictions, if at all it is possible to find such a person, and certainly Mr. Hegde does not belong to this category.

"Thirdly, some knowledge of public affairs, or the larger things that move the mind and passions of millions, is an important qualification for appointment to the highest court of the land for such has to be the philosophy of the Judge, his attitude to life and to the future of our country.

"Fourthly, it is entirely within the discretion of the Government of the day to appoint the person considered in its eyes as the most suitable, as having the most suitable philosophy or outlook to occupy the highest judical office in the country.

"Fifthy, the most important feature of the functioning of a court is its certainty and stability in relation to the major and vital questions of law. This is very important so far as the highest Court of our country is concerned.

"Sir, I have done. The heat and dust of controversy over the appointment of the present Chief Justic will die down and, I have no doubt in my mind, that this departure from an obviously wrong convention and practice, later when the history of our country and of our courts is to be written, will be a landmark in the history of our country in the sense that it opened up a debate on the rightness and wrongness of the convention and uncovered the real reasons that must move a Government in making appointments to a high office of this kind."

Here is a small extract from the broadcast address of President Roosewelt who delivered it on 9 March 1937. It is very telling because it deals with a situation more of less similar to ours. I quote:

"When Congress has sought to stabilise national agriculture, to improve the conditions of labour, to safeguard business against unfair competition, to protect our national resources, and in many other ways, to serve our clearly national needs, the majority of the Court has been assuming the power to pass on the wisdom of these Acts of Congress—and to approve or disapprove the public policy written into these laws. That is not only my accusation. It is the accusation of most distiuguished Justices of the present Supreme Court . . . In the face of these dissenting opinions, there is no basis for the claim made by some members of the Court that something in the Constitution has compelled them regretfully to thwart the will of the people. The Court in addition to the proper use of its judical functions has improperly set itself up as a Third House of the Congress—a super-legislature, as one of the Justices has called it —reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not

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there and which were never intended to be there. We have, therefore, reached the point as a nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. We must find a way to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution itself. We want a Supreme Court which will do justice under the Constitution—not over it. In our courts we want a government of laws and not of men. I want—as all Americans want—an indepent judiciary as proposed by the framers of the Constitution. That means a Supreme Court that will enforce the Constitution as written, that will refuse to amend the Constitution by an arbitrary exercise of judicial power—amendment by judicial say-so. It does not mean the judiciary is so independent that it can deny the existence of facts universally recognised . . . Those opposing this plan have sought to arouse prejudice and fear by crying that I am seeking to 'pack' the Supreme Court and that a baneful precedent will be established. What do they mean by the words 'packing the Court'? Let me answer this question with a bluntness that will end all honest misunderstanding of my purposes. If by that phrase is charged that I wish to place on the Bench spineless puppets who would disregard the law and would decide specific cases as I wish them to decide, I make this answer: that no President fit for his office would appoint, and no Senate of honourable men fit for their office would confirm, that kind of appointees to the Supreme Court."

This was what President Roosevelt said in 1937 when the New Deal legislation was under challenge.

As far back as 1949 our great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharal Nehru, uttered these historic words in the Constituent Assembly:

"No Supreme Court and no judiciary can stand in judgment over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the will of the entire community. If we go wrong here and there, it can point it out, but in the ultimate analysis, where the future of the community is concerned, no judiciary can come in the way. And if it comes in the way, ultimately the whole Constitution is a creature of Parliament . . . It is abvious that no court, no system of judiciary can function in the nature of a Third House, as a kind of Third House of correction. So, it is important that, with this limitation, the judiciary should function . . . Ultimately the fact remains that the legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the courts of law in such measures of social reform."

Law Minister Hare Ramchandra Gokhale spoke thus before the Lok Sabha:

We do not want the Supreme Court's independence to be fettered at all. In fact, we want a strong and independent Supreme Court, but a Supreme Court which will decide under the Constitution and not over it. It is for us now to say that we want to take the appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution; because otherwise in some of the judgments where do you get this idea that the power of Parliament, as read in the Constitution, is absolutely clear and without any limitation? They say

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that there are some basic features; this is a limitation not written in the Constitution but introduced in the Constitution by judicial say-so. That is exactly what we will not allow to happen. We do not want that to happen in this country. We will be failing in our duty if we do not take steps in this vital matter to see that we appoint independent and strong Judges who will uphold the Constitution and not sit over it, who will decide matters not in accordance with their political outlook but in accordance with the outlook and the philosophy as envisaged in the Constitutson itself, in accordance with the views accepted by the community at large, by the country at large, and in the direction in which this country is seeking to go. I do not think any further elaboration is necessary.

"In the end I would add this that it is unfortunate that Judges have been brought in and references have been made to individual Judges; When I referred Judges, I never meant any disrespect to the individual Judges. I thought I was entitled, and I am entitled to look at the judicial pronouncements of a Judge. Once they are rendered, they become public property. Therefore, without making any allegation, without attempting to refer to the learned Judge who went out of his way to make all kinds of remarks, I would only say that I do not think they deserve any reply. All that I want to say is that we have no animus against these individuals. As the Law Commission itself has said, when certain persons are superseded, it does not mean any disrespect to them, because the considerations are different. It is interesing to note that the present Chief Justice himself has struck down laws made by Parliament. Only in the very recent past he was a party to the decison striking down the Maintenance of Internal Security Act as well as the Government's order regarding newsprint control. I wish to make this abundantly clear and then I will conclude. We are in no way interested in having a pliable or weak Court. On the contrary, it is the cardinal principle of ours that the Court must be independent and strong. But independence and strength in a Court by itself will be of no value without an understanding of the deeper forces of today which motivate the millions and millions of our countrymen who want a new and better life and our justification for doing what we have done is that we believe that the gentleman who today adorns that high position of Chief Justice of India has shown that not only in terms of his knowledge and understanding of law, of independence of thought and action he ranks among the leaders of judicial profession in our country but also that he possesses an understanding of where our country is going and where all of us want to go, to transform a great country to the India of our dreams."

Regarding the seletion of judges Mohammed Currim Chagla observed thus:

"The real objection to the supersession of the three Supreme Court Judges is not that seniority was overlooked but that, in taking this action, the Government has deliberately dealt a moral blow to the independence and impartiality of the judiciary. If the Government had said that they

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were passing over the three Judges because in its opinion none of them was fit to be the Chief Justice, though many people in the country would have also disagreed with that view, we would not have seen the spectacle of the whole Bar and large sections of public opinion expressing indignation in such clear and emphatic terms. Let us not forget that two of the Supreme Court Judges had worked as Chief Justices and the third had a large practice at the Bar and has sat for many years on the Bench of a High Court.

The Government has made no secret of the reason why it superseded these Judges. Its leaders have told us in unmistakable terms that they want Judges who accept the social philosophy, not of the Constitution, not of the conutry, but of the ruling party. They have told us that the Judges must be forward-looking and not backward-looking and they have to be the judges of what forward-looking or backward-looking connotes, that they must acknowledge and recognise the sovereignty of Parliament although the Constitution provides to the contrary, that they must watch which way the wind is blowing. Every Judge sitting on the Bench must look out of the window of his Court, before he gives his judgment, to see the direction of the wind. They also told us that they had the sole prerogative with regard to the appointment of Judges and the Chief Justice and they will exercise it, not looking to the efficiency and ability of the Judge but bearing in mind the considerations to which I have already referred. The consequences of this will be disastrous. We will no longer have an impartial and indedendent judiciary in this country but a servile and subservient judiciary. No litigant appearing in the Court in a litigation to which Government is the opposite party will feel confident that the judgment will be delivered on merits and not in accordance with the political or social philosophy of the Judge which is bound to colour his pronouncements. The Judges in a court are expected to function as a team and be loyal to each other. Henceforward there will be a competition among the Judges as to who is more forward-looking and who has better imbibed the gospel of the ruling party. I am told on reliable sources that this has already started. Junior Judges of High Courts have started making speeches and writing articles giving expression to ultra-socialistic views so as to catch the eye and the ear of the authority that will ultimately select a Chief Justice when a vacancy arises. Today, at least the seniormost Judge is reasonably expected to succeed the retiring Chief Justice. Now the door is wide open and any junior Judge can expect to supersede his seniors if he can find favour by the strength of his real or assumed convictions and his linguistic felicity for abusing what in the eyes of the Government are vested interests."

Henceforward it will not only be now and again but all appointments will be due to executive influence. We quoted the observation of Chief Justice Kania at the time of the inauguration of the Supreme Court. "We hope that political considerations will not influence the appointments to High Courts . . ." Now it will not be the question of political considera-

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tions influencing the appointment of Judges but they will be the sole consideration. With regard to the appointment of senior Judges as Chief Justice, we said that "it has been the practice till now for the seniormost Puisne Judge to be promoted to be the Chief Justice on the occurrence of a vacancy. It would appear that such a promotion has become almost a matter of course."

We then set out what qualification of a Chief Justice should be and we also conceded that a Puisne Judge, although he may be a good Judge, may not have the qualification to be a Chief Justice. But we also said: "It may be that the seniormost Puisne Judge fulfils these requirements. If so, there could be no objection to his being appointed to fill the office. But very often that will not be so. It is, therefore, necessary to set out a healthy convention that appointment to the office of the Chief Justice rests on special considerations and does not as a matter of course go to the seniormost Puisne Judge. If such convention were established it would be no reflection on the seniormost Puisne Judge if he be not appointed to the office of Chief Justice. . ."

Ever since the inception of the Supreme Court, the seniormost Judge has been appointed in place of the retiring Chief Justice. No convention as suggested by us was ever established. We are now told that the time has come that the Government should wake up from its deep slumber and pay due respect to what the Law Commission desires. But is this true or honest? Has the convention been established as suggested by the Commission? Has the seniormost Judge been found lacking in efficiency and capacity? Has the appointment of the Chief Justice been made because the Government felt that he possessed the qualifications which the three superseded Judges did not? The answer again is an emphatic 'no'. As I have stated, even the Government itself has admitted that the supersession and the appointment was made for political consideration and bearing in mind the social philosophy of the Judges concerned as evidenced by judgments delivered by them from time to time.

"India has always boasted of the finest judiciary in the world and our Judges have been the envy of their counterparts in many other parts of the world. Must we lose the reputation and make the judiciary a department of the State registering its decrees and carrying out its behests? In a democracy public opinion must ultimately count and I still think it is not too late for the public to give expression to its strong sentiments with regard to the new policy of making appointments of Judges. As I said before, the Government has the prerogative with regard to the appointment of Judges. Constitutionally it may be correct but the prerogative must be exercised not arbitrarily, not contrary to democratic principles and conventions, not to weaken the judiciary but to strengthen it. It is impossible to trust that the present Government will exercise this power in that spirit". These words of Mr. M.C. Chagla show that in 1973 the government of India was not at all trustworthy.

Nami Ardeshir Palkhivala, the great jurist of India came forward with

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his best constitutional knowledge and opined thus :

"Mr. Kumaramanagalam very frankly asserted, without mincing words, that the Government was motivated by the consideration that the Chief Jutices should be one who would "help" the Government and whose political philosophy would be "the most suitable" from the executive's viewpoint.

"Mr. Kumaramangalam's great ability and personal integrity are beyond question. It is equally beyond question that his approach to the issue is against both the letter and the spirit of our Constitution.

"*First*, let us consider Mr. Kumaramangalam's plea that the Chief Justice must be one whose philosophy or outlook is "the most suitable" from the Government's viewpoint. This means that the Chief Justice should be selected on the basis of his suitability, not from the viewpoint of the Constitution and the constitutional duties and functions he has to discharge, but from the angle of the executive. The Government of India is the single largest litigant in the whole country. It has more cases pending against it than any other party or authority. If this litigant can select Judges suitable to itself, that would be the end of the judicial system which has till now served so admirably as the citizen's bulwark against unconstitutional laws and arbitrary executive action. Speaking for the Government, Mr. Kumaramangalam has expressly stated that the Government wants Judges "who can effectively work and *help* us in the Supreme Court". This euphemism would eventually convert the Supreme Court into a subservient appendage to the executive.

Secondly, Mr. Kumaramangalam has in effect suggested that the Government is entitled to select Judges who subscribe to the philosophy of the ruling party. Every government naturally thinks that it is forward-looking and its opponents are backward-looking; and Mr. Kumaramangalam says that in appointing the Chief Justice, "we are entitled to come to the conclusion that the philosophy of this Judge is forward-looking and of that Judge backward-looking and to decide that we will take the forward-looking Judge and not the backward-looking Judge." In other words what the Government virtually wants is that the Chief Justice should subscribe, not to the philosophy of the Constitution but to the philosophy of the ruling party. In all other democratic countries, a Judge is expected to shed his political philosophy after he takes his seat on the Bench; whereas our Government expects our Judges to adhere to or acquire a particular political philosophy after assuming judicial office. This attitude towards the judiciary is typical of communist countries where the judiciary has to be committed to the philosophy of the one and only party permitted to function and where the judiciary exists to "help" the Government in implementing its programmes. It is also the philosophy of dictators and absolute monarchs like the old English kings who established the Star Chamber Court which was expected to "help" the king, be "suitable' to his needs and share his "philosophy" and "outlook" as regards the unfettered powers of the monarch. Experience should teach us that

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while it is desirable to inject Justice into politics, it is disastrous to inject politics into justice.

"A little reflection would show how utterly untenable is the Government's claim that they are entitled to have Supreme Court Judges who subscribe to the ruling party's philosophy. Suppose a party is in power whose philosophy differs from that of the Constitution; is the Judge to uphold the philosophy of the Constitution or that of the ruling party? The Constitution requires the Supreme Court Judge to take an oath that he "will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution... and... will uphold the Constitution and the laws". One of the hallmarks of our Constitution is the great importance attached to Fundamental Rights and basic human freedoms. Some powerful political parties in India have no regard for the citizen's rights and civil liberties; and if the Judge has to share the philosophy of such a ruling party, he would necessarily be false to his oath. The President of India would be equally false to his oath in appointing such a Judge, since the President has to take an oath that he will to the best of his ability "preserve, protect and defend to Constitution". The very foundation of our Constitution is afree democracy with a free press and the right to dissent. Suppose the ruling party does not believe in the basic human freedoms, should the Judges give his decision according to the Constitution or according to the "forward-looking" philosophy of the ruling party? Again, our Constitution believes in religious freedom. Assume the ruling party in power at a future date does not believe in religious freedom, should the judgment of the Supreme Court be in conformity with such "forward-looking" view?

"After a Supreme Court Judge is appointed, a new political party may come into power at the Centre whose philosophy and outlook may be quite different from those of the outgoing Government. Should the Judge change his colours like a chameleon? Further, different political parties may be in power in different States. Chaotic conditions would prevail if the Judges of different High Courts are equally expected to be "suitable" to the different parties in power in the States.

"A committed Judge is a contradiction in terms. You cannot have a committed Judge any more than you can have boiling ice-cream. Either a man is committed or he is a Judge in the true sense; he cannot be both. A man is wholly unfit to be a Judge and is necessarily false to his oath unless his exclusive commitment is to the Constitution regardless of the outlook and changing fortunes of political parties.

Thirdly, Mr. Kumaramangalam referred to the "prerogative" of the Government to appoint that Judge to be the Chief Justice whom it regards as the most suitable. "Prerogative" is an archaic concept which belonged to the feudal age. Kings and dictators, fascists and totalitarian rulers have prerogatives, but not Minister who are merely the democratically elected servants of the people. Our Constitution recognises no prerogative whatsover; it recognises merely rights, duties and discretions. The diffe-

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rence between "prerogative" and "discretion" is clear. A person who has a prerogative can act arbitrarily or irrationally and yet his decision must be treated as legal and valid. On the other hand, if a person has the "discretion", and not the prerogative, to make a decision, the discretion can only be exercised fairly and reasonably; otherwise his act is void on the ground that there was no valid exercise of discretion in the eye of the law. The President of India has only a discretion in appoining the Chief Justice and other Judges; and neither the President nor the Cabinet has any prerogative in the matter.

Fourthly, Mr. Kumaramangalam has argued the Government wants a Chief Justice who "is able to recognise that Parliament is sovereign; that Parliament's powers in relation to the future are sovereign powers". This ability required of the Chief Justice makes a mockery of the Constitution. Parliament has no unfettered sovereignty. The Constitution is superme over Parliament; and not Parliament over the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights which are the basic human freedoms are fetters on Parliament's powers. The Supreme Court has itself held by a majority in the great constitutional case decided on 24 April 1973, that Parliament has no power to amend the Constitution in such a way as to alter the basic structure or framework or the Constitution; and the Government's emphatic arguments to the contrary were expressly rejected. Mr. Kumaramangalam's statement amounts to a refusal to accept the law as laid down by the Supreme Court.

"The Government still wants to have such Judges in the Supreme Court as will recongnise Parliament's claim to be supreme over the Constitution and to have the limitless powers to make any amendment whatsoever to the Constitution,—even so as to convert India into a totalitarian State where civil liberties may no longer prevail. The executive's naive plea is that Parliament may be trusted not to use the power to destory the basic framework of the Constitution. The answer to this is contained in the words of W.B. Yeats: "No government has the right, whether to flatter fanatics or in mere vaguenes of mind, to forge an instrument of tyranny and say that it will never be used".

"It would be a work of supererogation to spell out the frightening consequences for the entire country if the executive is permitted to appoint Judges who share the philosophy of the ruling party. Every Judge of the Supreme Court would then be selected on such reprehensible considerations."

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17 *The Battle Of Chikmagalur*

Chikmagalur which means (the town of the little daughter) is a district of Karnataka with its 7,200 sq. Km of lush green countryside. It is also the name of its principal town with a population of about 30,000, who thrive on coffee farming and iron ore mining. And Chikmagalur is also the name of the Lok Sabha paliamentary constituency with 5,95,393 voters. It is one of the safest constituencies in the Congress (I) ruled Karnataka. Since her defeat at Rae Bareli in March 1977, Mrs. Gandhi had been in political wilderness. Another defeat would have spelled a doom to her political career. But Urs knew that Chikmagalurians, who called Mrs. Gandhi *Amma* (mother), would not let her down. Little had they realised that their *Amma* would bring with her the entire national and international press corp based in Delhi, her election machinery of several thousand men and women who could not be accommodated in Chikmagalur's two tiny hotels. The simple town folk had not seen so many foreign faces since the British quit India thirty years ago.

It took Mrs. Gandhi exactly 598 days to stage a comeback from the political limbo into which she was flung in March 1977. Indira Gandhi, India's prime minister for 11 years and a quasi-dictator for two, was sworn in as an ordinary member of Parliament from Chikmagalur—a sleepy old place 1,500 miles from Delhi—which she saw for the first time in her life on October 6, 1978, and which suddenly loomed large on the India's electoral campaigns.

Mrs. Gandhi's victory started political tongues wagging all over the country. In Delhi, three distinct groups emerged.

There were those who thought that Chikmagalur had placed Mrs. Gandhi firmly on the comeback trial to power.

Those like Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who were playing the whole thing down and did not think that Mrs. Gandhi's victory had really changed anything.

A determined group around George Fernandes which had been visibly scared by the Chikmagalur experience and was prepared to go all out to ensure that Mrs. Gandhi could not come back to power.

But the election results by themselves were inconclusive. Chikmagalur was not such a setback to the ruling party as it was made out to be. Mrs. Gandhi's Congress considered that it was a safe Congress (I) seat and

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Mrs. Gandhi campaigned there for nearly three weeks with the full backing and authority of a powerful state set-up.

The constituency had voted solidly for Congress (I) in the last Lok Sabha and the legislative Assembly election in February 1978, and in Devaraj Urs, Mrs. Gandhi had a popular and energetic manager. The well-oiled party organization pulled out all stops—it was able to produce a heavy turn-out of voters on a rainy day—with all the resources at its command.

Mrs. Gandhi was hot able to get any additional change out of the voters and her share of votes actually dropped from 59.17 per cent in 1977 to 55.7 per cent. In the light of cold statistics, all that Mrs. Gandhi had been able to do was to barely maintain her party's previous position in the constituency and, that too in a byelection which traditionally attracted substantial protest vote against whoever was in power.

Chikmagalur had apperently no effect on Bombay. The Janata Party there scored something of a hat trick after two resounding victories in a row, firstly in the Lok Sabha elections of March 1977 in which the ruling party captured all the six seats and later in the Assembly elections in March 1978 when not a single opposition candidate could make the grade. Bombay and Chikmagalur are not in the same league. In the former contest, the issues were purely of local concern; in the latter, the issues, if any, were of much bigger significance. In Chikmagalur, the Janata Party, but not Mrs. Gandhi, went all out to make an issue out of the emergancy and was firmly beaten back. While in Bombay the ruling Congress-Shivsena combination had to fight against the traditional protest or negative vote, in Chikmagalur it was the Janata Party that was at the receiving end. It is remarkable that while the Janata Party stood its ground and actually gained some votes from the other side in Chikmagalur, the ruling anti-Janata coalition in Bombay could not withstand the Janata Party onslaught and promptly caved in.

Voting in India tends to be negative, and people vote against rather than for some one or some thing. The March 1977 poll was a massive angry vote against Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarianism and did not, even the fabled 20 points, could stop people form throwing her men out lock, stock and barrel. The Chikmagalur poll was also a negative vote but this time against Janata Party which the ruling party could have stopped only if people had something positive to vote for. Despite George Fernandes' vigorous and indefatigable campaigning the lack-lusture performance of Morarji Desai's government at the centre could not evoke the kind of enthusiasm and fervour that was neccessary to push back the protest vote.

Janata Party's main voice was a complacent leadership given to petty quarrels and characterised by an infirmity of will and purpose. Mrs. Gandhi, on the other hand, was able to project an image of a strong minded woman in a hurry and one who knew what was good for the country and how to go about achieving it. If the Chikmagalur vote was a negative

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vote, then it can be argued that it was essentially a vote of protest against Janata Party's aged leadership and its fossilised work style.

Morarji Desai, more than anyone else, symbolised a decrepit leadership, he chose to play the whole thing down and in fact was never really keen to play it up for fear that it might show up his own inadequacies as a leader. When the question of putting up a candidate against Mrs. Gandhi came up at the Janata Party's executive committee meeting, Morarji Desai advised against escalating the election into a contest with national overtones. In this, he was backed by other former Congress (O) members but not by Socialist and Jan Sanghis, and certainly not by George Fernandes and Chandra Shekhar. In fact, George thereatned to resign his job in the Government and offered himself as a candidate if the Janata Government didn't have the courage to fight the former dictator.

In the end, George Fernandes prevailed. Why the Janata leadership and particularly Morarji Desai was reluctant to take on Mrs. Gandhi at a time when, as a result of the Shah Commission report and other disclosures, her stock in the country was low and apparently sinking daily. The Morarji Desai faction did not explain whether their reluctance stemmed from their own sense of failure and inadequacy or whether the refusal to cross swords with her was purely a matter of tactics. If Mrs. Gandhi had been ignored and left to stew in her own juice in Chikmagalur, she would not have been able to get the kind of political mileage she obtained from the election. Since she fought in the teeth of opposition from Janata Party bigwigs, she claimed that Chikmagalur was not an isolated instance and her comeback was a matter of more than routine importance.

However, to ignore Mrs. Gandhi, even as a matter of tactics, was virtually impossible, and this was where Morarji Desai blundered. Jay Dubashi wrote in *India Today* "Mrs. Gandhi is not a backwoods woman from the coffee plantations of Chikmagalur; she is a national leader for the simple reason that the platform on which she has won is a platform made up from national planks. In fact, she has proved, if a proof were really necessary, that even when she stands from an obscure, unpronounceable place like Chikmagalur, she can go over the heads of every one and address herself directly to the nation from wherever she happens to stand."

George Fernandes' fighting instinct was appreciated inside and outside the Janata Party. He had coolly ignored Morarji Desai's protestations and leapt into the Chikmagalur fray for all he was worth. For Fernandes, fighting the 'fascist dictator' every inch of the way was more important than winning. Had he not put up a fight, it was likely that Veerendra Patil who was no match for Mrs. Gandhi, would have lost his deposit. To push back the Congress (I) hordes and maintain the *status quo* was a remarkable piece of work by any standard, for Indira had been stopped in her tracks and the ruling party, despite being on the defensive, did not yield any ground.

The Chikmagalur affair has understandably convinced the younger leaders in the Janata Party that India's Prime Minister has to be more

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than a passable administrator—he has to be a leader who can inspire people with new ideas and who is totally involved and is seen to be involved in their welfare and development. Mrs. Gandhi has projected herself as such a leader and this is the basis of her nation-wide charisma. Morarji Desai on the other hand, had the image of a deputy collector from Gujarat who had made good a political bureaucrat who had gone up the usual ladder of office, rather than a man of vision and intellectual dynamism. India's prime minister has to be a leader with an international stature, one won can see eye-ball to eye-ball with the likes of Carter and Brezhnev. Nehru was such a man.

A walkover by Mrs. Gandhi in Chikmagalur would have demoralized the Janata Party ranks, but, as a result of Fernandes' stiff fight, Janata Party had not lost. This was probably what Jaiprakash Narayan had in mind when he said that the election was a stray affair and did not indicate any trend.

A political tornado struck Chikmagalur. A cornocopia filled by various interest groups—local, national and international—ensured a steady supply of funds, to both parties. The expenses of both sides are said to have totalled an estimated Rs 2 crore—in a land where the electoral laws permit only Rs 35,000 for the campaign. Said an MP who had found his way into Chikmagalur on a campaign jaunt: "Rs 35,000 wouldn't even cover the cost of printing handbills and posters. It would be a lie to say that they are running the campaign on what they had collected from the people. Most of the money is black."

The estimates are that the Congress (I) spent at least Rs 85 lakh on campaign infrastructure—one million posters, 20,000 cloth banners, 500 cars and jeeps, expenses on volunteers and several hundred thousand pamphlets, and badges.

The main source of Congress (I) funds in the state was said to be the collections from liquor manufacturers in Karnataka. Another source was the individual collections by various party functionaries. Urs had assigned all his ministers and legislators to collect funds and organize volunteers. Reports were that black money, particularly the demonetized Rs 1,000 notes were laundered at a local pilgrimage centre for the Congress (I) coffers.

According to the Congress(I) sources, Janata Party funds came mainly from the beneficiaries of the gold auction, who had netted an estimated Rs 30 crores. Another important financier of the Janata Party was a well known newspaper baron. The rich local planters, though scared of the extension of the Land Ceiling Act to coffee estates, had a lurking sympathy for the Janata Party, but many privately admit that they were intimidated to give more funds to the Congress (I). The local Janata Party organizations, on the other hand, had difficulty in getting funds from the central leadership.

The Janata Party printed about three lakh posters and used 2,000

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volunteers, recruited locally. Some funds for the Janata Party came from Bombay.

Mrs. Gandhi and Industry Minister George Fernandes campaigning for his party candidate, Veerendra Patil, hurtled around the countryside, through the winding mountain roads and the emerald green valleys in search of votes.

Mrs. Gandhi, always at her best before adulating masses, steeled herself to fight back spiritedly her critics and the propaganda barrage unleashed on her for the Emergency excesses. "Mrs. Gandhi was her own best campaigner," said F.M. Khan, a Congress (I) member of the Rajya Sabha and one of the architect of her battle at the hustings.

She fought her campaign at two levels—at public meetings and through personal contacts with the voters. The stress was on a *tete-a-tete*. She was quick to grasp the local nuances and use them to her advantage.

When a *muezzin* at a distant mosque intoned his call to the faithful to pray, she stopped her meeting until the prayers were over. She always began her meetings with *ellarigu namaskara* (greetings to everyone, in Kannada) and promised to become fluent in the language in her constituency by adoption. At every opportunity she visited temples, churches and other places of religious worship. In fact, for a good part of the the campaign she camped at Dharmasthala, a pilgrim centre which served as her exchequer as well.

At her public meetings she was not repentant about the Emergency.

She justified the Emergency and even reminded audience of the post-Emergency excesses at Pantnagar, Aligarh and Kanpur. She gave a lurid account of the killings, adding gory details of how brains of the people were trampled by the police after the skulls were split with rifle butts.

Sanjay, her son and the all pervasive leader of the Emergency, kept away from the campaign. Every effort was made to keep Sanjay out of the public mind. Her campaign managers were keen to avoid any tension as they feared a postponement of the election.

As tension mounted after the Ujjire incident Mrs. Gandhi kept away from the public eye. She did not attend the public meeting of the party, held on November 3 evening, to round off her campaign. During the last three days of the campaign she stayed at the house of a planter tucked away in a remote plantation and her visits to villages to meet people were kept a secret.

The main figures around Mrs. Gandhi during the campaign were Karnataka Transport Minister Gundu Rao, F. M. Khan, MP, volatile parliamentarian Vasant Sathe, party General Secretary Boota Singh, Youth leader Kalpanath Rai and Chandregowda. Another caucus-man working from behind the scenes was former minister of state for finance Mr. Pranab Mukherjee.

While this group was for tougher campaign line and a stronger retaliation against the attacks on Mrs. Gandhi, Urs and old hands wanted as ofter campaign. This inevitably led to accusations of disloyalty to Mrs. Gandhi.

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But a tight lid was kept on the differences. Said Khan; "There was too much of complacency. We did not have enough follow up meetings once Mrs. Gandhi had addressed at a particular place. Fernandes usually came afterwards and launched a gutter-level attack. We did not do enough to counter the propaganda against Mrs. Gandhi." But Khan was quick to deny that there was any split in his party.

A.B. Louis and Dipa Jaywant of *India Today* wrote thus :

"Veerendra Patil's campaign style was just the opposite. He projected the image of the man next door, abhorring the public-address system. He worked out a fixed itinerary and went to village, meeting the people informally and chatting with them like a neighbour discussing local problems across the fence. Usually Patil began by introducing himself and ended with a straight forward plea for their votes.

"The Congress (I) camps realizing his popularity and keen to avoid antagonizing his fellow Lingayats refrained from attacking Patil and trained their guns on Fernandes, who made up for Patil's rectitude. To George Fernandes the election was an opportunity to pay the lady back in the same coin—the Emergency coin minus the handcuffs. He descended on Chikmagalur like a wounded lion, pawing the ground at every leonine step.

"He was born and brought up in Mangalore 46 years ago and is very much a son of the soil although he rarely visits the place. If the lady was a little daughter, George was a son who had made good. His style was as homespun as his clothes. He spoke Kannada, Konkani (his mother tongue), Tulu, Tamil, Marathi and, of course, Hindi and English. If Mrs. Gandhi spoke from the pedestal of mother goddess, Fernandes' communication level was that of a brother returned home. And he used it to the hilt.

"The meetings over, he would troop into the nearest wayside restaurnt for a meal, *vada* and the inevitable *sambar*, to be washed down by the sweetest coffee this side of Mecca—the first coffee bean was brought to Chikmagalur by an Arab saint, the local concoction still has a strong Arab taste. While Mrs. Gandhi's motorcade sped into the hills every night for hot baths and tall cool drinks, Fernandes and his men had to double up in shabby rooms chasing mosquitoes as big as young starlings. He condemned the excesses of the Emergency in the strongest language and like the preacher he was trained to be, he painted a picture of hell-fire and birmstone which the people would face if they voted Mrs. Gandhi back to power.

"Dozing off for a few hours everyday as he motored from one place to another, he campaigned almost round the clock. He addressed meetings big and small, hitching up his dhoti to sit on the table put on the dais, his feet dangling, creating an atmosphere of informality."

B.T. Ramachandra, editor of Kannada fortnightly *Kottala Belaku* said: "Mrs. Gandhi is a mother figure here. Even those who are not particularly attracted to her would chivalrously rally around her, when they see Fernandes attack her."

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There were some misgivings in the Janata camp about Fernandes' style of campaigning, which it was felt was more urban-oriented and of little value to the rural electorate. But the fact is that Fernandes was the first to take up the challenging task of opposing Mrs. Gandhi. The Janata Party leadership had adopted a lukewarm if not wholly defeatist attitude. It was, therefore, inevitable for Fernandes to have evolved his own style. And he did outshine others. In fact, he stopped the landslide in favour of Mrs. Gandhi.

When everything is said and done, Fernandes was the real hero of Chikmagalur, the village boy who took on all the queen's men for all they were worth, while his friends watched the fight from a safe distance. He has reasons to bitter be about some of his colleagues. After the defeat Fernandes said : "Given two more weeks I would have turned the tables."

The local Janata Party workers put up a united front even though there were differences among them. M. Manjunathaprabhu, former district Jana Sangh secretary, and now district Janata Party committee member said : "The old party lines are slowly disappearing. There is much less division in the Janata Party here than at the national level because there is no Bharatiya Lok Dal here and everyone else has little base."

The differences at the national level, however, were evident in the campaign. Madhu Limaye just paid "a courtesy call" as one state leader put it. Limaye had insisted that they call Raj Narain to campaign and was annoyed when told that during the last Assembly elections in the South, Raj Narain had proved to be a negative factor because of his stand on Hindi. The non-socialist leaders who visited the constituency were unhappy that Fernandes was monopolizing the entire campaign, as if he was the candidate and not Patil.

The Janata Party organization was chaotic. Somehow the campaign machinery had ambled on. But not enough was done to take the campaign to the rural areas. There was also a tendency to write off the Muslim and Harijan votes. A dent into Muslim votes was attempted by author B.G. Rao and his writer wife Amiya from Delhi. They visited many predominantly Muslim areas and canvassed from door to door explaining the excesses of the Emergency. They even named those who had died or suffered during that period in North.

But a common problem that both the camps faced was preponderance of workers from the North who could not speak the local dialects. Said a Janata Party leader : "They put a strain on our already overworked organization. They could have stayed home and helped by collecting funds." Sivraj Jain of Udaipur, who had been sentenced to death on a murder charge during the Emergency, but later acquitted, was in the fray too. He had hired some local interpreters to help him in the campaign. His four-years-old daughter sat on the bonnet of a Jeep holding a playcard which asked : "Indira, why did you want to kill my father?" Jain claimed that he was a Jana Sangh worker and because of political vendetta he had been framed. But there were others on both the sides who were liabilities

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despite their good intentions.

Rain disrupted the campaign several times. On the polling day too it rained heavily. A drenched Fernandes standing outside a polling station said: "Urs does not even know the weather of the state. He is unfit to rule. We wanted the elections postponed because of the rains and he said there would be no rains now." But despite the heavy rains there was a record turn-out of voters—76 per cent. About 40,000 voters who had kept away in the last elections voted this time. This was in addition to the 60,000 new voters.

The unusually long ballot paper (55 by 22 cms) probably will find a place in the *Guiness Book of Records.* With the pictures of birds and animals representing the symbols of the candidates, it looked like a Kindergarten chart. The illiterate voters were fascinated by it. Yet, the number of invalid votes was only about 6,000. On the other hand, the educated voters who sent postal ballots accounted for 20 invalid votes out of a total of 70.

The constituency had about 85,000 plantation labourers of whom a sizeable number were to be away from the constituency until November 15, when the rains stop and work is resumed. It was feared that impersonators would vote for the absentees. Special indentification officers from the area were appointed to weed them out.

In the other areas also impersonators turned up. At a polling booth in Tarikere *India today* correspondent was present when three such impersonators were challenged. One was a teen-aged boy passing himself off as a 34-year-old. Another was a young girl in *pardah* coming to vote for a 40-year-old woman. The third was a young man about whose identity a vigilant Janata Party polling agent had doubts. He took a copy of the electoral rolls and cross-examined them about their neighbours, their siblings, parents and relatives. When they could not answer these questions framed carefully on the basis of the electoral roll, they were detained.

Mrs. Gandhi won mainly on the strength of her charisma, carefully built up over the years, which the Emergency and other misdemeanours have done nothing to erase. She is after all her father's daughter and princesses have a special place in all fairy stories, particularly in old maharaja-ruled states, as Mysore was before it became Karnataka.

With most of the 35,000 campaigners and circus watchers who had poured in from outside gone, the announcement of the result was something of an anti-climax. Only a small crowd of leaders and volunteers, exhaused after the gruelling 24 hours of counting, cheered when the result was announced. A lone trumpeteer sounded a victory note on a curved local horn, the *kahale.* Chikmagalur was being quickly forgotten as the leaders raced to catch flights to Delhi. But as Fernandes is fond of repeating the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar's response to the advancing British army towards Delhi: *Hanuz Dilli Door Ast* (Delhi is still far away). The rest is history. And it could well repeat itself.

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18 *Dumpy Dancers of Politics*

A gentle breeze rustled the curtains in the upper reaches of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament as nine members of the ruling party groped for seats on the Opposition benches in the Lok Sabha on the opening day of the monsoon session. They were making a bee-line to their new path-finder, Raj Narain, who had already crossed over.

It was a small step for the nine plus one, but it was the beginning of the big squeeze for the Janata Government. "Not a ripple" said Delhi's leading newspaper in a blazing headline, accurately capturing the mood of complacency in the Morarji-Jana Sangh quarters.

Raj Narain was still dubbed as a joker and Madhu Limaye as a chronic party breaker.

But as the fateful week dragged on wearily, the Government of the "Second Freedom" began to wilt like the Skylab, with Morarji maintaining mulishly as ever that he would win the no-confidence motion by the margin of a handsome century.

The pace of desertions from the ranks of the MPs grew so fast that it started shaking the foundation of the ministry itself. The disaffection quickly spilled over the non-BLD constituents, whose first fall-out was the dramatic resignation of H.N. Bahuguna, who, "painfully parting company" with Babuji re-inforced the war cry against the Jana Sangh-RSS combine.

With Madhu Limaye liberating himself from Morarji's "prison-house", and George elumsily following suit, the fat was in the fire. The clincher came with Jagjivan Ram's tormenting "love letter" delivered to the Prime Minister.

With that *coup de grace* administered by his Defence Minister, parleys got intensified to replace Morarji as the party leader. All these got shattered on the rock of Morarji's intransigence; but realisation soon dawned on him that he could no more act like Casabianca. So he dragged himself to have a word with the President. By the time he came out, the sun had disappeared on the other side of Rashtrapati Bhavan, casting its mortal shadow over the Janata Government.

On July 9, 1979 there was a general air of expectancy of some dramatic turns to the country's body politic. There was still nearly an

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hour for the Lok Sabha to assemble for its monsoon session with the Question Hour at 11 A.M., but the Central Hall was buzzing with activity.

Maniram Bagri, the ebullient Janata MP, fired the first shot when he accosted newsmen and announced that tens of his party colleagues had resigned from the Janata.

The house had an effective strength of 539, including the Speaker and excluding four vacancies. Janata's tally of 302 was already reduced by three with the earlier resignations of Raj Narain, Amrit Nahata and Abdul Lateef. The last two had joined the Congress.

The House assembled and Bagri, sporting a green turban, confirmed his earlier announcement by transporting himself from the Treasury to the Congress benches. Raj Narain had already moved over to the third row in the third block to the left of the Speaker, immediately behind CPM's Jyotirmoy Bosu.

Maniram Bagri moved from behind D.K. Barooah, made a beeline to the centre table of the House and deposited some papers. The resignation was confirmed.

The first lot, besides Raj Narain, Amrit Nahata and Abdul Lateef, consisted of Bagri, Sushil Dhara, Brij Bhushan Tewari, Ram Dhari Shastri, Hari Ram Choudhari, Mohinder Singh Lather, Hargovind. Verma, Manoharlal Saini, Chandra Shekhar Singh and Anant Ram Jaiswal. They asked for a separate bloc of seats. The Raj Narain group, Janata (Secular) was born.

Chavan, who had tabled a motion of no-confidence, had not had a ghost of an idea that the Ruling Party was haunted by ghosts from within.

While submitting their resignations, the dissidents had written to the Party President that they were doing so "out of disgust" because of the "growing corruption at the highest level" and the party being riddled with *ghatakvad.*

Raj Narain released his "open letter" to the Prime Minister questioning Kanti's accompanying him on his tours outside and inside the country, though he had nothing to do with the Government. He wanted to know how Kanti collected Rs. 94. lakhs for party funds and who were the donors.

George Fernandes described the resignations as "unfortunate". Though the Janata strength had been reduced to 289—19 more than an absolute majority—they were confident of weathering the storm unleashed by Chavan's censure motion.

Their hopes rested on support from the CPM and AIADMK, but the former lambasted the Government with an adjournment motion on its failure to effectively handle CRP and CISF unrest tabled by Samar Mukherjee. Shouts and counter-shouts were heard. Consent to the motion withheld as the votes were 192 to 75. Government efforts to

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woo CPM were clear from H.M. Patel's speech, in which he named only the CPI as the instigator of the *Paras*. Almost the entire Opposition demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister, the namesake Home Minister, and the government.

George Fernandes released the declaration of the Socialists' convention. It said that the "Janata's creed of a secular, democratic, socialist society is incompatible with the RSS concept of a *Hindu Rashtra*.

Chandra Shekhar was the most miserable figure on the scene. He said "some more members may leave the Janata Party, but an effort will be made to minimise the damage already done?"

Anti-RSS-ism became the rallying point.

Raj Narain administered another shock by announcing the resignation of 14 more Lok Sabha members from the party. The majority tumbled down to three.

Simultaneously, the Congress was in convulsions. Chavan replaced Stephen as Leader of the Opposition and sought leave of the House for his no-confidence motion immediately after Question Hour.

Congress (I) sat pretty when a count was called. Tongues wagged that Indiraji was doing a good turn to Morarajibhai.

The scene shifted to the Central Hall and its side rooms. Pressure was being mounted on Charan Singh, Bahuguna, Biju and George to quit, while some Socialists and the like-minded exhorted Morarji to part company with RSS-Jana Sangh or get lost!

Madhu Limaye, one of the few architects of the "revolution within the revolution" said a solution cannot be found within the party but it has to be a "trans-party solution."

Trans-Party Solution? Chandra Shekhar sniggered and said that his party cannot go into a "trance".

Three hours after voting on the no-confidence motion at the introduction stage, the Cong-I woke up like Kumbhakarna, and Stephen announced that this party did chime in.

Hectic efforts were on to gather support for Government from the opposition. Atal Behari Vajpayee sidled up to P. Ramamurti and Harkishen Singh Surjeet of the CPM, an electoral ally of the Janata Party.

Shekhar had discussions with SGPC Cheif G.S. Tohra, Akali Dal President J.S. Talwandi, along with Agriculture Minister Surjit Singh Barnala and Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal. Akalis had linked up their support with several unresolved issues like handing over Chandigarh to the Punjab.

Information Minister L.K. Advani pow-wowed with leaders of the six-member PWP.

Morarji Desai said he would not knuckle down to "blackmail." He telephonically asked Charan Singh to defend the Government

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during the debate on the censure motion. The Choudhury said that he "would be guided by his followers and do whatever they wanted to do.

Janata Parliamentary Party Secretary Murli Manohar Joshi and another RSS stalwart, Madhav Prasad Tripathy, met Charan Singh to dissuade him from following a collision course. The latter complained of "unjustified" assault on his group by the Prime Minister's camp.

While 45 Lok Sabha members, including those who had left with Raj Narain, met in the night at R.K. Amin's residence and gave Charan Singh full freedom to decide the future course of action, JPP's good-natured, non-teetotaller, heavyweight Digvijai Narain Singh, said the Morarji Desai Ministry could carry on comfortably even if the Janata Party strength was reduced to 220. He declined to explain the statistical riddle.

The President arrived in the Capital and got busy as a bee.

On July 11, 1979 Janata lost majority with the resignation of 20 more MPs, including the two Professors Shyam Nandan Mishra and R.K. Amin. The Janata was down to 253 in a House of 538, excluding the Speaker.

Morarji was under heavy pressure as Chavan initiated the debate on the no-confidence motion. Charan, Bahuguna, Biju were not present in the House. Jagjivan showed up briefly.

Shekhar had a meeting with Charan Singh and later huddled with Morarji and Atalji separately. Morarji had a telephonic talk with Charan Singh to find out whether his First Deputy Prime Minister would defend the Government in the debate. The Choudhury pleaded that he was down with a toothache! The "*Sarvochcha*" grumbled how he was going to hold continuous discussions with his camp followers if his tooth was aching!

Morarji rejected the suggestion of a group of Orissa MPs to have a dialogue with those who had left the party, and told reporters: "It is good that this thing is happening now. Afterwards there will be peace!" The Prime Minister then closed himself in with three Jana Sangh stalwarts: Vajpayee, Advani and Brij Lal Varma and discussed the crisis.

Madhu significantly remarked that there was no need for MPs to be panicky about a snap election, because they had an experienced publicman in Rashtrapati Bhavan. It was a kind of assurance to the frightened.

George took a contrary position and asked his followers not to take a hasty step.

The nightfall had in dinner diplomacy. The venue was Chandra Shekhar's residence. Among those present were Madhu Limaye, Raj Narain, Bahuguna and S.N. Mishra. Could they thrash out a solution to the vexed question of double membership. Atal promised something

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concrete by next day.

Chandra Shekhar told the waiting newsmen : "The Janata Government is not going to fall." He said before seeking the help of other groups, it (Janata) should "put its house in order...be clear of our own destination" was the question of the hour.

On July 12, 1979 the countdown for showdown started with the exodus for the first time from the Council of Ministers when Health Minister Rabi Ray, finding the political climate unhealthy, resigned along with another Minister of State, Jasbir Singh, deputy to Advani. Yes, the Desai-Cab was entering the earth's atmosphere like the American Skylab.

The morning quota of resignations of MPs being nil, there was elation at the Janata Parliamentary Party meeting.

Charan Singh kept away from the meeting and Bahuguna was having consultations with his followers at his residence. Looking at the empty chairs, the one-time Deputy Collector Morarji threatened to take action against errant Ministers behind the defections. The assembled gathering did some mutual back-thumping and decided to do away with further discussion.

Jana Sangh's chubby-faced Kanwarlal Gupta, who gulped his morning cup of tea only after tracing his name in the "morningers", assured obliging newsmen, hurriedly rounded up, that the "deserters" were completely "demoralised".

While he claimed that five defectors were furiously rethinking, Murli Manohar Joshi, in a separate conclave with another set of reporters (they were in great demand) went better. He told them that he had in his bag at least a dozen "re-thinkers", but refused to open up the bag, pleaded "tactical reasons". All hushush.

Meanwhile, Rabi Ray and Jasbir Singh had been joined by Minister of State for Energy Janeshwar Mishra, and a staunch follower of Raj Narain. With him, seven more Janata members of Lok Sabha walked out of the party, diminishing its strength to 247. Raj Narain group's tally went up to 55 in the Lok Sabha and to eight in the Upper House.

The tempo of desertions was not keeping pace with the previous day's though Rabi Ray and the two junior ministers had given the lead to their colleagues in other ministries.

The BLD camp was looking towards Charan Singh and Biju Patnaik, but there was no positive indication. Apprehension spread about Biju's intentions, because he had met Morarji in the morning.

The Morarji camp was beaming with confidence, particularly because of the spirited defence of the government by George Fernandes in the debate on the censure motion.

CPM Politburo postponed its decision on the motion. This

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provided grease to the Jana Sangh propaganda machine to unleash rumours that Morarji was willing to consider withdrawal of the two obnoxious ordinances—juicy carrot to the CPM!

The Chief ministers of Janata-ruled States started pouring in. Banarasi Das gave dinner in "honour of Morarji'. Sharad Pawar of Maharashtra called upon his friends in the Congress not to back the motion. Similar sentiments gushed out from a bunch of 15 Socialist MPs. with H. V. Kamath, Samar Guha, Ugra Sen and Ramanand Tiwari in the lead. One wit in the Central Hall said "Samar Babu does not want Morarji to fall till Netaji Subhash Bose who he believes is still alive, reappears on the scene!

Things were hotting up in the CFD camp. Jagjivan Ram and Bahuguna had two meetings amidst reports that they wre drifting further apart.

Chavan, Stephen and Dinesh Singh called upon President urging against dissolution of Parliament.

On July 13, for the second day, Delhi's taps were dry. Members shouted "No water No house." Both Houses of Parliament adjourned. Works and Housing Minister was seeking to assuage feelings of irate members in the Lok Sabha. S. N. Mishra retorted 'This Government is san responsibility, sans alertness, sans sensitivity."

Intense political activity was spilling over from the Central Hall to select ministerial bungalows.

In the afternoon Bahuguna gave the big blow by leading the first batch of non-BLD men out of the party. Scenes were reminiscent of 1977 on the lawns of his residence. He announced his resignation from the Council of Ministers along with another CFD colleague, Minister of State for Planning, Fazlur Rahman.

Bahuguna had not left the party, but Fazlur Rahman and later in the day, three State Ministers, Zulfiqarulla, Ram Kinker and Narsingh joined the ranks of the rebels.

The Janata in the Lok Sabha was down to 243.

The CPM and CPI cangratulated Bahuguna. Significantly K. V. Raghunatha Reddy and Saugata Roy of the Congress registered their conspicuous presence at Bahuguna's crowded press conference.

Bahuguna said administration has collapsed and "RSS has emerged as a vicious organised force within the body politic of the country, perversely affecting the attitude of the administration at all levels." Severe indictment, indeed!

Bahuguna said "there is need for national reconciliation among secular and democratic forces in the country".

He expressed his indignation against dual membership and announced rupture of his political relations with Jagjivan Ram as their assessment of the situation differs radically.

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The Morarji camp went into jitters as the CPM Politburo directed its party MPs to vote for the no-confidence motion. Other Left parties, like RSP, Forward Bloc and PWP, also announced their support.

The CPM felt that the Janata Party had been captured by the RSS-Jana Sangh combine, which had toppled stable governments in Bihar and Haryana. This showed the emergence of Hindu chauvinist ideology.

Reacting to these events, Madhu Limaye summed up: "quantitative change is on the verge of becoming qualitative change". He advised Morarji to resign forthwith.

Among those who met the President were Nanaji Deshmukh, Ramakrishna Hegde and Kamalapali Tripathi.

On July 14, as the Janata Parliamentary Board met at the Prime Minister's residence, came news of resignations from unexpected quarters. Minister of State for Home Affairs Dhanik Lal Mandal sent his quit notice from his hospital bed.

Charan Singh abstained from the Board meeting. So did Rabi Ray, who had been invited in his capacity as one of the General Secretaries. Strange political drama. While the Board urged "deserters" to return, it expressed hope that the no-confidence motion would be defeated. Morarji was absolutely convinced about it, but not Chandra Shekhar, Atal Behari Vajpayee and George Fernandes.

At the meeting of the Parliamentary Board as well as in separate meetings with him, George and Vajpayee asked Morarji to step down and name Jagjivan Ram as his successor. Morarji declined to see writing on the wall.

The long-expected resignation by Steel Minister Biju Patnaik was flashed on the creed. Not only did he leave the Council of Ministers but also the party along with nine Lok Sabha members from Orissa. Bahuguna left the Janata Parliamentary Party. Seven of his CFD followers, including one from the Rajya Sabha, resigned from the Janata Party with these resignations. The party strength in the Lok Sabha shrank to 227.

With George Fernandes, Atal Behari Vajpayee actively supported by Chandra Shekhar, doing intensive lobbying for Jagjivan Ram as the next PM, the question of Morarji's resignation came on the agenda.

In the BLD camp, Charan Singh was being projected as the next PM in a coalition with the Congress, Akali Dal and AIADMK with the outside support of Cong-P. The Chaudhary had passed the news around that he would meet the press on Sunday (July 15). Landslide desertions were being predicted along with Charan Singh.

Meanwhile, pressure was being brought on Jagjivan Ram to part company with the Morarji camp. Among those who visited him possibly with this end in view were T. A. Pai, Congress Parliamentary General Secretary K. P. Unnikrishnan and a large number of Harijan MPs of both Houses.

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Socialists decided to chalk out a plan of action and a meeting had been hurriedly summoned at the residence of George. Among those present were S. M. Joshi and N. G. Goray, India's High Commissioner in UK. Though invited, Madhu Limaye gave the slip. The assembled Socialists did a complete somersault. From their earlier stand to support the Government, they decided to keep their options open vis-a-vis the censure motion.

Towards evening Babuji took the upper hand and wrote to Morarji stating that the "crisis of the future of a given individual." The individul was none other than Morarji. He cited the full gamut of problems created and unresolved by the Janata Party under Morarji's leadership including "impromptu reactions and belated responses" in crucial foreign policy matters.

Rashtrapati Bhavan became a beehive of activity. Pre-emptive moves to save dissolution of Parliament. Raj Narain, with his forehead always daubed with *sindur* was a daily visitor. Other callers included Karpoori Thakur, S. N. Mishra. Sheikh Abdullah, former MP Chief Minister S.C. Shukla, CPI's Bhupesh Gupta and M. N. Govindan Nair, Deputy Speaker Gaude Murahari and even S. K. Patil.

As others slept, things started livening up at Chandra Shekhar's residence. It was around midnight and among those present were the Chief Ministers of UP, MP, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal, a formidable array of Jana Sangh leaders (both minister and non-minister), Mohan Dharia, Bejoy Singh Nahar (representing Babuji). They discussed how to get rid of Morarji and install Jagjivan Ram.

On July 15, Morarji was forced to resign.

The day's proceedings began with the exit of Minister of State for Agriculture Bhanu Pratap Singh, a close ally of Charan Singh, who had switched over his loyalties to Morarji when the Chaudhary was eased out of the Cabinet last year.

Then came a surprise from unexpected quarters. George went out of the Ministry. Civil Aviation Minister Purushottam Kaushik followed suit. All ministers, who resigned, had written to the Prime Minister giving reasons for their quitting the Council of Ministers. In his letter George said it was "his moral duty to defend the Government in the House when it enjoyed majority support" and once again it had become his "moral duty to resign from it when it has lost its majority support." He denied he was deserting the "General" in the midst of a war. "The war is over", with loss of majority, he added.

Meanwhile, Madhu Limaye got out with ten other comrades. Madhu's statement set out an entirely new perspective. He said the break-up of the Janata Party had become as much of a historic necessity as its formation in 1977. Janata was an "anachronism", he snapped.

Jagjivan Ram followed up his last night's letter with a visit to No. 1, Safdarjung Road, in the morning. The supremo was adamant. Last

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night's conclave of Chief Ministers and a cross-section of Janata leaders including Jana Sangh, resumed its sitting at Chandra Shekhar's house, while the Janata President kept on shuttling between his house and Safdarjung Road to convey the storng feeling to Morarji that he "should step down."

Morarji, on the contrary, had summoned a Cabinet meeting at 3 P.M. George ignored it and sent in his resignation alongwith that of the Tourism and Civil Aviation Minister's.

The Cabinet meeting did not come about though. On the contrary Jagjivan Ram called on Morarji again. "You quit or I quit" was his ultimatum. This coupled with the mounting pressure from the conclave at Chandra Shekhar's residence and the advice from five Gujarat MPs proved to be the last straw.

Morarji bent down and at 6.30 P.M. the scene shifted to Rashtrapati Bhavan. He was closetted with the President for nearly half an hour. Reporters and cameramen besieged him when he come out. "I Have resigned", he replided to a query.

The focus now shifted to No. 6 Krishna Menon Marg (Jagjivan Ram) and 12 Tuglak Road (Charan Singh). Supporters, friends, political allies and political operators, tycoons and sycophants made a beeline to the place of their choice, the fencesitters visited both places.

While Charan Singh was fairly free to formulate his strategy, Babuji was immobilised.

In a desperate bid to stage a comeback through the backdoor—he did it in undivided Bombay—Morarji sought Chavan's co-operation to form an alternative Government comprising the Congress and the Janata leftovers.

Chavan rebuffed him. He would have no truck with communal elements. For once Chavan left his usual perch on the fence.

On July 16, Parliament was adjourned *sine die* to enable the leaders to carve out a new Cabinet. Yet Morarji showed no sign of vacating the leadership of the deflated Janata Parliamentary Party. He was damn annoyed with Babuji. He was thinking of anointing Shekhar in his place. He was making brisk moves, but did not seem to be getting anywhere.

It was by the re-induction of Charan Singh in the Cabinet that Morarji Desai hastened the doom of the Janata Party. He stooped too low to accommodate his political rival within the Party in order to gain the sympathy of a handful of supporters of the now senior Deputy Prime Minister, who for the sake of self power and paisa had disowned even HMV and others who stood by him in his dark days.

A strange drama was enacted by the two main actors, aided and abetted by the Party President, Chandra Shekhar and many others.

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Chandra Shekhar went out of his way to lend support to Desai in the expectation that he might find a place in the Council of Ministers. Later indications, however, dashed all that to the ground. In fact Rabi Ray had replaced Raj Narain. In order to regain a little popularity he became a mediator and tried to bring East and West together.

The funniest part of the entire show was that the man who called the Cabinet a "pack of impotent men" himself became a vital part of that "impotent" coterie. How this was made possible will always remain an enigma, a quiz that no one will be able to solve. Of course, it was patent from the very beginning that Charan Singh was mighty hungry for a ministership and for that he was ready for any sacrifice. He did.

His own faction, BLD, stood hopelessly divided. His closest ally was demanding the ouster of Desai. He was left high and dry and had no hope whatsoever to fill a Ministerial chair in his life. He himself was shocked at Charan Singh stabbing him in the back at the first opportunity. Charan Singh lost whatever little prestige and respect he had among the landlords and so-called *kisans* of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi. Although they have not been vociferous they feel that he has betrayed them and their cause.

According to some observers, Morarji and Charan Singh were vying with each other in political bankruptcy. Their was a time when Morarji and Charan Singh could not tolerate each other even for five minutes, let alone talk. Similarly, Jagjivan Ram and Charan avoided sitting at the same table. When Charan was turned out of the Cabinet, Morarji accused him of ignoring the principle of collective responsibility of the Cabinet. Charan, on the other hand, maintained that he was asked to quit beacuse he wrote to him about his son's allegedly objectionable activities.

Morarji was touched to the quick and did not take long to get rid of him. Matters came to such a head that it is said Charan Singh as Home Minister prompted an article against Kantibhai for publication in one of the leading Hindi papers.

Morarji found this occasion as the fittest case. Charan had to pay a heavy price because he was reduced to the status of an ordinary member of parliament. Charan was losing his importance and if he had not raised the bogey of the so-called *kisan sammelan* his political career would have been sealed for ever. Therefore, he was moving heaven and earth to rehabilitate himself. He tried all methods—apology, threat, coercion, persuasion etc. For full seven months he hung on between life and death.

It must be said to the credit of a particular journalist in the Capital—most of his scoops are vehemently denied officially and at the Janata Party level—that his column was full of praise for Charan Singh and he had made it a propaganda column for the Jat leader. His luck clicked and we are sure the journalist must have demanded his price

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for the tough task that he performed for the former Home Minister who was later been made the Prime Minister.

Morarji had many considerations in his mind. The first and foremost was that he would be able to seal Charan's lips over the Kanti affair. Another consideration was that he would act as a "speed-breaker" aginst Jagjivan Ram, a most ambitious person. He kept the Party Chief also in good humour in agreeing to take back his adversary on better terms than he could ever dream of.

Morarji knew it full well that he had not been able to take a single positive decision, let alone implement any of the promises and pledges mentioned in the 36-page election manifesto of the Janata Party. There has been no harmony in the working of the members of the Cabinet.

Desai had to blame himself more for bringing about his fall; also it goes without saying that he did not prove himself a firm and effective Prime Minister and national leader (never enjoyed real confidence of most of his colleagues), he was toppled by black-mail, conspiracy and under-hand dealings, and not by healthy democratic process. And this was done without ensuring first a stable alternative and an agreeable successor Prime Minister. Let me again emphasise that Desai has not fallen as a consequence to democratic and moral passage of a no-confidence motion but by a coup engineered by his party men.

The whole nasty drama set up a very ugly precedent. It destroyed the very foundation of discipline and morality, which are the very prerequistes for political stability. Raj Narain will of course hoarsely gloat for a long time of his success in bringing about the fall of another Prime Minister, he will realize that he has rendered a great disservice to the nation by using disgraceful methods this time, while previously he waged a healthy legal battle.

Desai will also get credit from all dispassioned people for sticking to his principle (whether one egrees with him or not) and standing by his staunch supporters at all costs. He refused to sacrifice Jana Sangh just to appease his opponents. When Jana Sangh Ministers offered to resign and support his Government from outside, he would not listen. In contrast Jana Sangh leader, Vajpayee, joined others to dich Desai when proposal was made for the first time to the latter that he should step aside himself.

Desai did so finally but had he done so only 24 hours earlier his moral stature would have risen further. There was reason to believe in the soundness of his calculation that he would be able to defeat no-confidence motion, and this was likely till Fernandes and his 20 ,supporter Lok Sabha members did not betray him, also Jagjivan Ram did not serve him his notice.

The following is a calendar of the crises the Janata Party and Government faced:

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1977

March 24—Morarji Desai sworn in as Prime Minister of the first non-Congress Government in the country.

Ram Dhan resigned from the general secretaryship of the Janata Party in protest against the manner in which the Prime Minister was 'elected' in the "dictatorial style of Congress."

April 30—Acting president B.D. Jatti issued a proclamation dissolving the Assemblies of nine Congress-ruled States. Mr. Jatti initially refused to sign the proclamation bringing the President and the Government close to an open confrontation.

August 20—Janata Party Working Committee ended its three-day meet after adopting a statement laying down the Party's policies on "immediate and urgent problem of checking price rise and unemployment" Also laid down a time schedule for organisational elections.

Party general secretary Madhu Limaye in a note called upon the RSS and its different wings to clarify their links with the Janata Party.

1978

April 11—Move to unify youth and student wings of different Janata constituents received a setback with Yuva Janata deciding to boycott the deliberations on merger.

April 20—Party general secretary Nanaji Deshmukh suggested that those over 60 years renounce power.

April 22—Concerned over increasing criticism in public of party affairs, the Janata National Executive decided to exert its supremacy over the Government wing.

Chandra Shekhar threatened to resign following criticism, especially by Union Health Minister Raj Narain of his handling of party affairs.

April 29—Home Minister Charan Singh resigned from Party's National Executive and Parliamentary Board, charging the Party leadership with condoning and inciting dissidence against Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Haryana.

May 8—Haryana Chief Minister Devi Lal won confidnce vote.

June 4—UP Chief Minister R.N. Yadav won confidence vote.

June 5—Raj Narain called for new National Party Executive and also attacked ex-Congressmen in the Party.

June 17—C.B. Gupta gave a call for the union of all Congresses.

June 22—National Janata Executive charged Raj Narain with violating party directive not to air publicly views on intra-party differences —crisis deepened.

June 23—Charan Singh said it may not be possible for him to continue in the Government.

June 25—Raj Narain addressed the controversial meeting at Simla.

June 29—Desai asked Charan Singh and Raj Narain to resign from his Cabinet. Objected to Charan Singh calling Party leaders as "a bunch of impotent people" and Raj Narain "violating collective responsibility

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and behaving in an undignified manner"—Party faces split.

June 30—Charan Singh and Raj Narain alongwith four Ministers of State resigned from the Government.

July 2—Erstwhile BLD decided to hold a rally against Charan Singh and Raj Narain's ouster.

July 4—Janata Parliamentary Board asked Haryana Chief Minister Devi Lal to step down.

July 5—Charan Singh said Desai was annoyed over his suggestion to have charges against Kanti Desai probed.

July 6—Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Kripalani urged to arbitrate to "save" the party. BLD rally called off. Devi Lal stayed CM.

July 11—National Executive urged Charan Singh to withdraw his resignation from Party posts, which he did the next day.

July 18-29—Desai and Charan Singh met but achieve no breakthrough.

Aug. 7—Chandra Shekhar ruled out mediation by Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Kripalani to settle Janata squabbles.

Aug. 17—Madhu Limaye resigned from Party general secretaryship.

Aug. 17—Chandra Shekhar offers to resign to make way for Charan Singh so become Party chief. The move fell through in the face of opposition by Congress (O) and CFD constituents.

Sept. 4—Janata National Executive postponed organisational elections, scheduled to be completed by October 31, by at least 5 weeks.

Sept. 19—Kisan Sammelan declared it is not a wing of Janata Party.

Dec. 17—Charan Singh suggested revival of parties constituting Janata Party and formation of a coalition Government.

Dec. 22—Charan Singh made his much-awaited statement in Lok Sabha in which he said Desai had been looking "for a pretext" to ease him out of his Ministry.

Dec. 23—Kisan rally attended by lakhs of Charan Singh supporters took place in Delhi.

1979

Jan. 10—Renewed efforts at rapprochement between Desai and Charan Singh, this time by S. M. Joshi.

Jan. 24—Charan Singh rejoins Ministry as Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister. Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram also made a Deputy Prime Minister.

Jan. 25—Peace proved shortlived. UP Chief Minister R.N. Yadav sacked two dissident Cabinet Ministers.

Feb. 15—Ram Naresh Yadav lost vote of confidence of UP Janata Legislature Party.

Feb. 28—Banarasi Das, backed by Charan Singh and H.N. Bahuguna, became UP Chief Minister—kept Jana Sangh constituent out of his Ministry.

March 11—Raj Narain hinted at formation of parallel Janata Party.

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April 4—National Executive asked Raj Narain to explain his anti-party utterances.

May 16—Congress (O) and Jana Sangh constituents sweep Janata Parliamentary Party elections.

April 19—Bihar Chief Minister Karpoori Thakur lost confidence vote.

June 12—Raj Narain removed from Party's National Executive by the Central Disciplinary Committee.

June 22—Devi Lal asked to seek confidence vote.

June 23—Devi Lal resigned from Haryana Janata Legislature Party leadership.

Raj Narain quite Janata Party and said it is "dominated by communalism of RSS, authoritarianism of Mr. Desai and conspitorial politics of Chandra Shekhar."

July 9—12 MPs walked over to opposition, 10 of them joining Raj Narain. Raj Narain christened his breakaway group as Janata (Secular) and dubbed the parent party as Janata (Communal).

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, told Mr. Morarji Desai that despite serious threat to Janata Party unity and chaotic conditions in the country, "he (Mr. Desai) as leader has not given a meaninguful response."

In a letter to Mr. Desai on the night of July 14, 1979 Mr. Jagjivan Ram said "My formal stand of voting against the motion of no-confidence as a minister of Government should not be misinterpreted or misunderstood as a desire to stick to my office or an endorsement of all that has brought the Janata Party and its government to this sorry pass.'

Following is the text of the letter:

"The current political crisis concerns not only the fate of the Janata Party but has serious implications for the country, bringing as it does a real probability matter that goes beyond the question of the future of a given set of leaders or a particular polical grouping, as the leader of the largest political party, it has fallen to you to show the kind of statesmanship which is needed to avoid the possibility of acute instability of the Central Government and to steer the country at this crucial juncture.

"As a member of your Cabinet and of the party of which you are the leader, I have stood by you. Even in the current crisis, I took the stand that since I am a member of the Government against which a motion of no-confidence has been brought, I would vote against that motion.

"I have done this despite the serious reservations of many of my colleagues and political supporters whom I have been associated for a very long time. I have done so in spite of the distinct possibility of estrangement from my political associates and from those with whom I am ideologically close. I did so because I felt so far as the motion of

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no-confidence is concerned, all members of the Government and members of the Janata Party in Lok Sabha should oppose it as a question of upholding conventional parliamentary practices.

"This stand of mine did not mean that I was or am satisfied with the performance and style of functioning of our government nor does it mean that I am satisfied with all our policies or the lack of them. I am not denying the achievements in the restoration of democratic rights of the people. Nor can I deny the real achievements which some of our ministries have to their credit. But there are many matters of a general nature which are germaine to the very foundations of our policy about which, as you well know, not only I but a large number of our colleagues in the Government and the party have been greatly perturbed. Serious developments which imperil our cherished goals of democracy, secularism and socialism have been met either with lack of response or the wrong responses, leading to a situation in which people feel frustrated and which gives an opportunity to disruptive forces to raise their head.

"For instance, it is not enongh to guarantee equal right to minorities in a legal sense. The state has to ensure that these rights are protected. A series of violent incidents have shaken the faith of the minorities in the ability of Government to safeguard and protect them. Not only the Harijans but all weaker sections, especially in rural areas, have been subjected not just to deprivation of rights but violent atrocities. We have not been able to restore confidence in them. Nor have we done much about the increasing economic exploitation of the rural weak by the privileged classes. The administration has been rendered helpess in the face of such developments.

"The people are greatly concerned over the acute and steep rise in prices some of which they attribute to our economic and fiscal policies but we have little to show by way of a determination to ease their mounting difficulties. Disruption of industrial production and even of public services is becoming widspread because of our failure to win the confidence of the working class or their representative organisations through policies which would meet their genuine needs and aspirations.

"Administrative weakness, verging on near-collapse, is visible all round. The administration is demoralised and feels leaderless.

"The virus of leaderlessness and disruption has entered even police services.

"We have not been able to meet the threat of regionalism and forces of secession feel emboldened to take even to insurgency.

"In the matter of foreign policy too, impormptu reactions or belated response have threatened to alienate friends, such as those in the Arab world, to cite only one instance. In the name of genuine non-alignment some of your statements have had the effect of giving it a definite tilt and of dilution of established and cherished policies.

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Even in party matters many serious controversies have been allowed to continue without any initiative on your part to resolve them. These include, inter alia, the question of dual membership which has been of acute concern to important sections of the party but which you have chosen not to resolve for so long though authorised to do so.

"The examples could be multiplied. I cannot and will not say that all these problems are the direct outcome of specific government policies. Nor do I ignore that in any balance sheet, there will be, as there no doubt are achievements to take credit for. It is not my intention in this letter to give a full catalogue of the failures or achievements. But a point which cannot be ignored that these serious threats to national life and progress have been met with complacence to a point where the people are beginning to doubt the ability and even possibly the inclination of this government to give them good administration.

"In the initial phase, the first prioity was to remove the threat of re-emergence of the forces of authoritarianism. But unfortunately, the failure of leadership has reached a point where any complacency can give comfort only to these forces.

"The motion of no-confidence is one thing. But many friends and colleagues in the Party have felt impelled by their conscience not to support a leadership which, in their view, was failing in its elementary duties to the people. Many even among those who are supporting the Government in this crisis are not satisfied with the leadership.

"I was hoping that these developments would at last make the government, more particularly yourself as its leader, sit up, take note and give evidence of a meaningful response. We are still waiting for such a response.

"Not only have we alienated other political forces, which supported the Janata, but even a large body of our own members, not including senior ministers.

"As a result the challenge in Parliament assumes a significance which is greater than that of on opposition political party carrying out its normal annual ritual. In the least, it called for a readiness to open channels of communication and policy dialogues with those who have been compelled by their convictions to forsake the government or the Party and with those in other political groupings who have given us their goodwill in the past. This was the least that could have been done in a situation which, as I have said, poses a danger to the political stability at the Centre. Complacence or refusal to recognise the writing on the wall is no answer.

"In these circumstances, I am personally absolutely certain that the Janata government will not be able to survive the motion of no-confidence.

"At this morning meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board the fate of the no-confidence motion was fully discussed. Your assessment

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was different but you would have noticed that the assessment of all the others differed from yours.

"I am writing this letter only to bring on record that my formal stand of voting against the motion of no-confidence as a minister of government should not be misinterpreted or misundertsood as a desire to stick to my office or an endorsement of all that has brought the Janata Party and its Government to his sorry pass.

"I am still hopefull that you would reassess the gravity of the situation and take appropriate steps.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Jagjivan Ram

How to stop the ignoble game of our politicians who were crookedly playing the game of toppling the government at the centre—was the most important question before India's sixth President.

Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy became India's President in 1977. It was a victory of the 'old guards' led by Morarji Desai. After the downfall of Indira Gandhi in March 1977, there appeared three political giants in the administration of India; the political trinity consisted of Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram and Charan Singh.

Mr. Reddy was wise enough to foresee that this Political Trinity was not at all based on oneness. He knew it full well that all the three men were going to destroy each other's political force. Morarji Desai was the tallest of all. He left the political stage in July 1979. Of the remaining two, Mr. Reddy annihilated Jagjivan Ram politically by refusing to invite him to form the government at the Centre. Lo! What a wonderful politicking it was when Reddy destroyed Chaudhary Charan Singh's future by accepting him as India's puppet prime minister. The man who was dreaded most by Indira Gandhi and who was defeated by Indira's betrayal became the master of our nation's destiny in less then three years of her downfall.

India's Central government became the President's nominee in 1979 because it never faced the Lok Sabha and never won its confidence. It was only Charan Singh's care-taker government that adviced the President to dissolve the seventh Parliament of India. The Council of Ministers under Chaudhary Charan Singh was literally the President's own council of ministers. It was solely responsible to him and not to our Parliament. It was holding office during his will. This position was never foreseen by the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution.

The entire political leadership stood exposed before our nation which seemed to be bereft of moral strength. On all sides people were openly declaring that there was no strength in our political leaders. The country was facing an acute bankruptcy in the field of morals. Mr. Reddy developed serious doubts about the efficacy and functionality of parliamentary system in India.

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A weak government, particularly at the Centre, created serious doubts in the minds of the Indian voters. The people thought that India did not deserve to enjoy the benefits of parliamentary democracy.

It appeared from the latest political circumstances that the President of India was thinking of Constitutional Reforms in 1980. It was a matter of serious thoughts. It seemed that the President wanted to make full use of the political situation of India in the beginning of 1980.

Perhaps President Reddy was taking his political lessons from the present Constitution of France. Unstable governments proved a curse to France under its Constitution framed in 1870. Many political parties grew there and no party was able to claim a clear majority on the floor of the French National Assembly. Coalition governments became the rule of the day. Such governments had a distressingly short span of life and they proved to be the greatest curse for France. At the very first attack from Germany, France laid down its arms before its enemies both in World War I and World War II.

General De Gaulle created stability and strength in France. He brought French presidency into the mainstream of its national life. He was the first statesman who involved the people of France in state affairs actively through the referendum-system. He vested the highest authority of his state in the President of France and made him superior over the French Council of Ministers through the system of referendum.

It appeared that the sixth President of India, Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, was following the footsteps of General De Gaulle of France.

What was the reason of Reddy's new political thought? The answer is simple. Reddy was faced with the same kinds of problems which tormented General De Gaulle.

All political parties in India were exposed in the eyes of the people.

The Congress (I) was suspected to have a belief in authoritarianism. The Janata party became a laughing stock because of its inner contradictions. The CFD, the Socialists and the Lok Dal walked out of it. It was unable to establish its credential in the eyes of the people. The leaders of the Congress (U) were a pack of hungry wolves. They wanted the 'pound of flesh' from every citizen.

The founding fathers of our Constitution made a provision for meeting a situation of constitutional failure in our states. They never thought of the failure of constitution at the Centre.

The Constitutional government appeared to have failed at the Centre and the Constitution of India was not so clear as to guide the President of India in the matter of meeting India's extraordinary political situation.

President Reddy had to put up with a council of ministers. It never enjoyed the confidence of the Lok Sabha which had been dissolved before its formation. The Council of Ministers formed by Chaudhary Charan Singh had no back *locus standi* as the Council of Ministers.

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Under such an abnormal sitution the President had to follow the voice of his conscience which guided him to order fresh polls. The nation accepted the President's verdict.

An important event during Mr. Charan Singh's tenure as the caretaker Prime Minister was the resignation of Mr. H.N. Bahuguna from the Union Cabinet.

The break came after weeks of Negotiations between the two leaders. Mr. Charan Singh demanding that Mr. Bahuguna's C.F.D. should merge with the Lok Dal and the latter refusing to oblige unless certain conditions were met.

Observers saw in the manner of Mr. Bahuguna's resignation the enactment of Act One of a well rehearsed play, with both the Prime Minister and his Finance Minister playing their expected roles. The other Acts of the drama followed in due course.

It appeared that Mr. Bahuguna had only been waiting for the Prime Minister's letter asking for his resignation from the Union Cabinet. Mr. Charan Singh too had braced himself for the decisive step knowing that he and his Finance Minister had reached a point of no return in their relations.

Knowing the old animus between Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Bahuguna, many felt it was a miracle that the two UP leaders forged an alliance in July 1979 even for the limited purpose of toppling Mr. Desai's Cabinet.

Mr. Bahuguna has all along professed adherence to the so-called "Nehru" line while Mr. Charan Singh has been claiming to be a votary of the "Gandhian" philosophy. The two differed sharply on issues like the role of the public sector, Muslims, Harijans and even foreign policy.

The Prime Minister Mr. Charan Singh said on November 16, 1979 that he did not regret the removal of the former finance minister, Mr. H. N. Bahuguna, from the cabinet "because I did not consider him to be an asset."

The Prime Minister appeared to be confident that Mr. Bahuguna's decision to join the Congress (I) would not make any difference to the Lok Dal and the alliance. Mr. Charan Singh said he had no alternative but to ask Mr. Bahuguna to resign because the former finance minister had been saying things in public which he should not have done as a cabinet minister. He quoted Mr. Bahuguna as saying that he felt uneasy in Mr. Charan Singh's cabinet and did not know how to get out of it, and said, "I help him out of his predicament."

Asked whether he still considered Mr. Bahuguna to be a KGB agent, the Prime Minister said he had suspected him to be very close to a super-power, but it was Mr. Morarji Desai who had told him that Mr. Bahuguna had links with the KGB.

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Mr. Charan Singh referred to the allegation made by Mrs. Gandhi that one of her cabinet colleagues had been supplying information to the CIA and said "I propose to find out the name of this gentleman. People in Delhi, particularly you, may already have some clue. Perhaps he is a leader you boost every day."

Tracing the developments that led to the break-up of the Janata party, Mr. Charan Singh said the other constituents had created such a situation that the BLD group had no choice but to quit. The governments of Haryana and Bihar were toppled because they were headed by BLD chief ministers. Mr. Raj Narain was not only turned out of the Cabinet but also the Janata party working committee.

The then prime minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, treated the BLD group with contempt so much so that on his birthday in 1977 he did not even greet him.

On November 14, 1974 Mr. H.N. Bahuguna urged the CPM not to ally with Mr. Charan Singh whom he describes as "temperamental and authoritarian" and whose policies are retrograde and reactionary.

In a letter to Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, CPM general secretary Mr. Bahuguna said that a self-willed person with mediaeval ideas that Mr. Charan Singh is, he could hardly be an ally in fighting communalism.

The letter dated October 28 also drew the CPM leaders attention to the "anti-working class" manifesto of the Lok Dal urging the party not to fall a prey to the "politics of negativism."

Commenting on the CPM politburo's statement on his resignation from the Charan Singh ministry, Mr. Bahuguna said that politburo should have blamed Mr. Charan Singh for weakening the alliance instead of cautioning the CFD in that regard.

He wondered why the CPM had not objected to the move by the Lok Dal-Congress (U) alliance to have electoral adjustments with the RSS-dominated Janata in some states. He referred to a statement by Mr. Surendra Mohan, Janata leader, that "CPM which claims to be a party wedded to ideology is now trying to seek adjustments with Janata Party which it has branded a commual."

Mr. Namboodiripad, in his reply, did not touch upon the issues raised by Mr. Bahuguna but curtly wished that "you will in the end come to correct decisions."

Bahuguna's background and commitment had put up with the Janata Party and the Lok Dal which had made no secret of the opposition to this framework.

Mrs. Gandhi also called for unity of all progressive forces, including the CFD, to "fight obscurantism, communalism, and casteism which posed a threat not only to Nehru's policies of democracy, socialism and non-alignment, but even to the strength and unity of our country."

Mrs. Gandhi mentioned in the letter that she had also seen the CFD's 31-point programme.

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Mr. Bahuguna said that Mrs. Gandhi was the only person who responded to his party's programme without any reservations. "I ran from pillar to post but no other political leader accepted this programme", he said. He was critical of Devaraj Urs, the Congress (U) president, who was quibbling about the programme saying that his acceptance would depend on the "stance" of Mr. Bahuguna.

Mr. Bahuguna was expected to meet Mrs. Gandhi again. The ground for the morning meeting was prepared by emissaries who shuttled between his house and Mrs. Gandhi's late last night.

It was a meeting after nearly three years during which Mr. Bahuguna fell out with Mrs. Gandhi and served in the Janata and the caretaker government whose leaders are today Mrs. Gandhi's opponents. Their coming together will have implications on scene the electoral in UP. where Mr. Bahuguna's following can tilt the scales in Congress (I) favour in some constituencies.

After Mr. Bahuguna's exit from the Charan Singh government, the choice for the CFD was very limited. He could not have possibly gone back to the Janata party which he had left to fight communalism. The Congress, then led by Mr. Swaran Singh, was keen to have him but Mr. Bahuguna wanted it to part company with the Lok Dal. Mr. Urs, the successor of Mr. Swaran Singh, tried unsuccessfully to woo Mr. Bahuguna who did not consider the Lok Dal-Congress (U) to be a viable political force.

A section of Mr. Bahuguna's followers had opposed the merger of the CFD with the Lok Dal even when Mr. Bahuguna was in the Charan Singh cabinet and had favoured reconciliation with Mrs. Gandhi. This view prevailed finally.

Mr. Bahuguna had never made any personal attacks on Mrs. Gandhi even after he had parted company with her. On one occasion, he had told newsmen that if need be he would meet Mrs. Gandhi directly instead of talking through intermediaries.

At his press conference, Mr. Bahuguna faced a volley of questions about his earlier declaration to fight authoritarian forces. He replied that Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarianism was a thing of the past and that "more authoritarian persons have emerged since then and some of them are in power."

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19 *The Red Rose Returns*

The battles of the candidates for Lok Sabha elections (1980) were really unique. The sole object of all the contestants was to rotate round India's Big Three (Indira, Jagjivan Ram and Charan Singh) who were thoroughly concerned to occupy the office of the Prime Minister of our country. The largest number of candidates were trying to make a political fortune through them. The main concern of the common man in India during the election days was to get bread (minus butter of course) and the bare necessities of life without difficulty.

The battle of ballots in the year 1980 was very fierce. Violence erupted at some places. Those who were extremely anxious to come out successful in achieving power did not hesitate to shed blood too. About seven murders took place during election days.

"Vote-Banks" in both rural and urban areas were activated. Leaders of different castes and communities in the North and in the South as well were bargaining with the communal-minded people who were controlling huge pockets of votes. Slogans of governmental stability were raised by the Congress (I). The question of authoritarianism was boosted by Lok Dal and Janata Party. The stories of 1979 defections were extremely interesting when narrated by the speakers at the election-platforms. The issues of communalism were framed both by the Jana Sangh and the Muslim League. The Congress (U), the Congress (I), the CPM, the CPI, the Lok Dal and the Janata Party—all were trying to win the trust of the people who were highly averse to political gambling of the candidates. The independent candidates also came forward.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Congress (I) President, had created doubts that the elections would not be held in the first week of Januray, 1980. It came out to be a baseless fear. Her main reason for this doubt was only the nightmare through which she had passed during 1977-1979. She went to the extent of making some allegations against S.N. Mishra, the then Foreign Minister of India about whom she said:

> "He has entered into a secret deal with President Zia of Pakistan at Havana asking him to launch a border war so that India's care-taker government may conveniently postpone the elections of 1980."

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Perhaps these allegations were made with a political sagacity. Some politicians and political groups were not at all happy with the prospect of facing a mid-term poll.

Inquiries made in Delhi confirmed the suspicion that all the political leaders would have felt very easy if the mid-term polls had been postponed for some time so that they could consolidate their individual positions in their areas of representation. However, all of them were inevitably bound to a course which demanded an early election to provide the much-needed stability for the citizens of India.

Upto the end of November 1979 the President of India and all our political leaders had liked to play the democratic game according to the set rules. The announcement of the poll-dates by the Election Commissioner towards the end of October 1979 and the notification issued by the President ruled out the possibility of the polls being put off for an indefinite period.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi carried the highest burden on her head and went on doing what she could to win a large number of seats in the new Parliament so as to form her own government. She oozed out the greatest confidence at her public meetings and press conferences. To all the states and union territories of India, she gave the impression that her party's victory in the election of 1980 was a foregone conclusion. It came out to be so. My own book *World's Greatest Woman*, a biography of Mrs. Gandhi, proved its title in the best-possible manner.

On November 1, 1979, Indira Gandhi spoke to the newsmen at Bhubneshwar and claimed that her party was quite sure of securing an absolute majority in the New Parliament. It was because of the big ovation she received in Orissa when she came there from Calcutta after making the statement about the secret deal at Havana between President Zia of Pakistan and India's then Foreign Minister. It was a political stunt to see the certainty of 1980 Lok Sabha elections.

Jagjivan Ram and Chandra Shekhar lost political vision as they could not notice the existence of the Lok Dal which was to all intents and purposes, ruling India in alliance with the Congress (U) of Dev Raj Urs who failed miserably in Karnataka and ultimately resigned. It was only Indira and her Congress (I) that were hindrances in the way of the Janata Party. Jagjivan Ram and his friend Chandra Shekhar gave the impression that their political strategy to win the elections was directed against Congress (I) alone. According to them the Lok Dal was an aberration in Indian political circles. They thought that the Lok Dal consisted of defectors only. Prime Minister Charan Singh saw the danger that Indira Gandhi could create for him and other political parties. He also realized that the Emergency 'excesses' could no longer be exploited to defeat her when his lordship. Mr. Justice T.P.S. Chawla of the High Court of Delhi acquitted her on December 20, 1979. Now she was regarded as the most innocent creature by all the people in India. The villagers took her to be the giant star of the firmament. They realized

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the folly which they had committed in 1977.

The real significance of Delhi High Court's judgement lies in indicating what credibility history should accord to the Shah Commission.

Referring to the transcripts of the tapes Mr. Justice T.P.S. Chawla of Delhi High Court points out: "The transcripts have, of course, been signed by the Chairman, Shri J.C. Shah; but their accuracy leaves much to be desired." In respect of Article 352, his lordship Mr. Justice T.P.S. Chawla says:

"The Shah Commission is aware of the amendment of Article 352, but slurs over it." About the participation of the Government counsel, Mr. P.N. Lekhi, Justice Chawla observes: "The statement of the Chairman that he had not allowed counsel for the Union of what has been happening." Referring to the arguments given by Mr. J.C. Shah in support of his first stage of inquiry, Delhi High Court says: "It causes the statements of the Chairman, in his various earlier orders, that he was unable to discern 'who is responsible for the commission of the excesses to become incredible."

About the procedural lapses of the Shah Commission there are some of the observations of the High Court: "It is implicit in the reason by the Chairman (Mr. J.C. Shah) that he knew the procedure adopted was irregular. The construction of the rule and the section he himself propounds makes the conclusion inevitable".

"The procedure laid down contains internal contradictions (p.19) and the Shah Commission also went against regulation 16 which the Commission had itself framed."

Deprecating the procedure of deploying the investigating agencies of the Shah Commission in "ferreting out' the subject of inquiry, Justice Chawla significantly remarks: "In all common law jurisdiction, the law is firmly set against roving inquiries. The Supreme Court has refused to countenance them. Our law does not tolerate them because they are unfair to the individual and capable of working immense injustice."

It is ironical that the Shah Commission, which was set up to look into the cases of abuse of authority, was itself not free from blame in this respect. Referring the Commission's decision to call Mrs. Gandhi again, on January 19, 1978, when she had already made her position clear on January 11, 1978, his lordship Mr. T.P.S. Chawla remarks: "Calling her again on 19th January, 1978, was a transparent attempt to multiply offences. The addition of section 178 of the Indian Penal Code in the order made on that day more than proves it" (p. 219). Quoting Justice Douglas of the US Supreme Court, his lordship goes on to say: "If I may adopt the phrase used by Mrs. Justice Douglas, by doing so, the Commission abused its authority."

The assertion that the High Court has usurped the jurisdiction of the trial court on matters of facts is not correct. Justice Chawla has dwelt upon facts in so far as they are relevant to the interpretation of points of law under consideration.

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The matter is now pending before the Supreme Court of India whose verdict will be final. The failures of the Janata Government and the unspectacular performance of her previous government softened the attitude of our people towards Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This was the reason that Charan Singh was very keen to maintain the alliance of Lok Dal with Congress (U) and the Communists. This alliance failed miserably. On October 28, 1979 the Prime Minister issued a very lengthy statement in which he made a massive effort to save the alliance of Lok Dal and Congress (U) from breaking. He tried to assure the Communists about his bonafides also. But he never knew that this would not do.

Mrs Indira Gandhi was shrewd enough to realize the importance of the maxim that public-memory is always very short. She could easily guess that the mistakes she had committed during the Emergency had been forgotten by the people. In her opinion, the failure of the Janata Government to tackle the social and economic problems of the people had disillusioned those consitituencies that had voted against her in March 1977.

The non-availability of essential commodities, the break down of the machinery of law and order and the price-hike turned the commons against the Janata Party and the Lok Dal in the same manner as the Emergency had turned them against Indira. It was only on this basis that she began to think that the people would vote her back into power. They actually liked her as the Queen of the commons. They took her as the very 'Red Rose' as they were taking Jawaharlal Nehru for the same.

The people wanted maintenance of law and order, stability of government and a strong control over prices. Indira's opponents created fears in the minds of the people that the return of the 'Red Rose' to power meant return to her Emergency Rule. Her chances were being jeopardised by showing the 'Bug-Bear of Emergency' only. Prime Minister Charan Singh addressed a public meeting at Purnea (Bihar) in the last week of October 1979 and said:

"If Indira Gandhi again becomes the Prime Minister people will be flogged publicly." What a shame! Indira always loved people who earnestly returned her love.

Indira Gandhi assured the people that she would never impose Emergency even if things would come to pass in the fashion of June 1975. She openly admitted before her audiences that her Emergency measures had failed miserably. The excesses of emergency were not committed by her. They were committed by irresponsible people who always go astray even during peaceful days. She promised that she would not like to ban the RSS.

Indira Gandhi clearly felt the pulse of the people. She could see the fate of other political parties. She saw the Janata leaders crumbling down. She was able to create a great rift among her enemies. Before becoming Prime Minister of India, Chaudhary Charan Singh had to seek her help. Probably Babu Jagjivan Ram shall have to seek her support at

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sometime with a view to grind his own axe. She was shrewd enough to discredit Charan Singh in the eyes of the people by first installing him into power and then by pulling the rug from under his feet. Jagjivan Ram was wise enough to congratutate her on January 8, 1980 on her dazzling victory in Lok Saha elections.

H.N. Bahuguna in collaboration with Jagjivan Ram contributed a lot to those efforts which caused her downfall in March 1977. On the twentieth day of October 1979, Bahuguna was thrown out of his cabinet by Charan Singh. In March 1977 Bahuguna considered himself a political giant. He became in November 1979 a political tool in the hands of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who was highly successful in winning the Lok sabha elections of 1980 under the banner of Congress (I).

It was Indira's wisdom that she took Bansilal again in her fold. Haryana's Chief Minister Bhajanlal saw her strength and he withdrew from law courts four important cases filled against Bansilal on the basis of the report of Jaganmohan Reddy Commission. Bhajan Lal was once a sworn enemy of Bansilal whom he began to woo. Why ? The answer is very simple. Bhajanlal wanted to save himself from being ousted from power by the Lok Dal leaders.

Indira Gandhi knew it fully well that Charan Singh's battle for survival was desperate. He did not possess any achievement of his government to show to the people. He had to remove the stigma of defection from his followers. Raj Narain and Madhu Limaye did their best to clear the Lok Dal of the said stigma but they could not. They could not chalk out a revolutionary programme for the people who felt highly betrayed through false promises. Raj Narain was defeated miserably in 1980 elections of Lok Sabha. He proved to be the people's jester alone. The poor joker could not even retain his position as such.

What stood against Chaudhary Charan Singh was his own ideology on economic and political issues. His unwarranted remarks about Jawahar lal Nehru during his visit to Andhra Pradesh in the last week of October 1979 caused much embarassment to Congress (U) allies. Immediately the Chaudhary had to issue a pathetic statement saying "I hold Nehru in high esteem though I have some basic differences on the question of his industrial policies". Charan Singh also claimed that Nehru towards the end of his regime, had himself confessed that some of his policies were impraticable. In spite of his shortcomings Chaudhary Charan Singh was able to make a lot of gains for his party. He had to modify the manifesto of his party with a view to accommodate the followers of Jawahar Lal Nehru in Congress (U). He was potent enough to throw out H.N. Bahuguna when the latter tried to secure a maximum number of seats from UP, a state which the Chaudhary thought to be his own preserve.

Chaudhary Charan Singh and his followers hoped that during the Lok Sabha campaign of 1980 the idea of Indira Gandhi's dictatorship was her political death. This was wrong. The association of Jagjivan Ram with the former Jana Sangh proved a serious liability for him. The campaign

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against communalism reduced his chances of securing impressive political gains for the Janata Party.

The Janata Party hoped to secure many political gains by convincing the people that the Lok Dal was not only against Mahatma Gandhi but it opposed Nehru's policies also. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Babu Jagjivan Ram were extremely happy when thoughtless remarks of Chaudhary Charan Singh provoked Tarkeshwari Sinha—the Congress (U) leader into issuing strong statements condemning them. For many days it apperared that Lok Dal's alliance with Congress (U) was on the rocks. Having realized the graveness of this political situation the Chaudhary bent backwards to save the alliance. However, the Janata Party went on portraying Charan Singh as anti-Nehru and thereby it gained whatever it could.

There are some groups of politicians in the Lok Dal that cannot go together for a long time. The Congress for Democracy was already out when H.N. Bahuguna felt the urge to merge with the Congress (I).

The Socialists were feeling uneasy because of Charan Singh's anti-labour tendencies. Raj Narain's style of working in India's political circles drew strong protests from some colleagues of Chaudhary Charan Singh. They asked the Chaudhary to see to it that Raj Narain was not to be accepted as the builder of Lok Dal. The poor fellow could not win the hearts of the electroate.

All the well-known parties of India divided the country into pockets of their influence. How? Let me answer the question in brief.

The Lok Dal was claiming its authority over Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa where it failed.

The Janata Party was presuming to have a great control over the people of Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. It could not make a headway there. Congress (U) had its influence over the state of Karnataka and Maharashtra. It failed miserably. The Congress (I) was stamping the minds of the people in Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir also. It achieved a dazzling success.

The Communists had their political shadows over West Bengal and Kerala. Thus whole of India was politically tattered and shattered as well. This was the reason that the polls had a regional character. Seeing this Mohan Dharia left the Janata Party even when he was a close friend of Chandra Shekhar.

The questions of caste and creed began to crop up. Communalism was again at its climax. In Uttar Pradesh this question became very prominent. All political alignments were made there on the basis of caste alone. But Indira's slogan was—"*Na Jaat pe na paat pe, Mohar Lage gee haath pe.*"

People voted the "HAND" that cheered them. Indira was far away from communalism. Her election-symbol the "HAND" became the saviour's symbol for the people.

After the formation of the NMF (National Muslim Front) on Septem-

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ber 21, 1979 under the guidance of the Muslim Majlis, the NMF made a secret understanding with the Lok Dal. It was after this that Charan Singh got rid of H.N. Bahuguna who was claiming for himself and his friends more than 25 tickets in UP to contest the polls. Chaudhary Charan Singh could not tolerate this political encroachment on his preserve.

The Janata Party and the Congress (I) tried their best to consolidate their position among the Harijans and the upper castes when they felt that the Lok Dal was making a solid position among the farmers and the backward classeses of UP. It was with the influence of Jagjivan Ram only that the Janata Party was mobilising itself among the Harijans of Eastern UP. Where Mrs. Indira Gandhi gained sufficient ground. She had many pockets of influence in Haryana, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. She was banking on the middle class traders and on the upper castes in the towns.

In Punjab, the Talwandi group of the Akali Dal was inclined to support the Lok Dal. The followers of Prakash Singh Badal were aligning with the Janata Party. It was the communal sentiment which the Akalis promoted. Congress (I) had stupendous task in making its mark in Punjab politics. The Akalis won only one seat in the Punjab. Twelve seats were won by Congress (I).

Andhra Pradesh was the preserve of Congress (I) because of the support it drew from Brahmins, Reddys and Khammas. Even in March 1977, this state gave the maximum numbers of Lok Sabha seats to Indira Gandhi. Despite the rise of Dev Raj Urs as the President of Congress (U) the hold of Congress (I) over Andhra Pradesh was not disturbed. Dev Raj Urs began to realize his mistake under which he betrayed Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1979.

West Bengal continued to be a peculiar state. The parties like which Congress (U), Congress (I) Lok Dal and Janata Party got only crumbs the Leftists had left. Here, the majority seats were won by CPM.

In Karnataka Dev Raj Urs broke away from Congress (I). His position became assailable. He had done much service to the poor and the down trodden. Even the backward classes did not back him up. With the defection of Veerendra Patil the chance of Congress (I) improved in this state also and nearly all the seat were won by Congress (I).

Veerendra Patil was her rival candidate when Mrs. Indira Gandhi fought in 1978 her election from Chikmagalur. He was defeated. What a wise fellow Veerendra Patil proved to be! He gave up his love for the Janata Party and came under the banner of Congress (I). Indira forgave her rival and admitted him into her own fold.

Veerendra Patil had seen the goddess in Indira Gandhi. He saw that the goddess who had once failed in 1977 was going to establish a workable government in India in 1980. Veerendra had seen at Chikmagalur that Indira had lost in March 1977 with a view to win in January, 1980.

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Let us say that 1980 is the year of today's Durga who is none else but Indira. She has defeated the Nine enemies—Kamraj, Nijlingappa, Morarji Desai, Y.B. Chavan, Jagjivan Ram, Reddy, Dev Raj Urs, Raj Narain and H.M. Patel. In 1980 election Patil came to Indira's fold and his Lingayat followers helped her a lot.

Biju Patnaik treated Orissa as his fief. He did not allow the Janata Party to grow in his state. The alliance of the Congress (U), CPM and CPI helped him to a very great extent. But alas! he could not retain the byegone glory.

Tamilnadu was a battle ground where only political alliances made the elections successful. Individual parties could not work in the state. The DMK made an alliance with Congress (I). The AIADMK joined hands with the Janata Party, CPM and Congress. (U) The main fight was between DMK and AIADMK both of whom were interested in controlling their state only and not the centre.

Even Gujarat could not favour the Janata Party. This State was highly influenced by the old Congress. Congress (I) won most of the Lok Sabha seats in Gujarat also.

The installation of Mohammed Koya's Ministry in Kerala upset the left parties. Here the Congress (I) consolidated its position against the leftists. The Congress (U) and Janata Party tried to combine their forces in Kerala also as they did in Karnataka. In this state the Catholic Church also participated in politics and it mobilised its support against the leftists. The Nairs and the Ezhavas organized themselves as the Muslims had gathered under the banner of the Muslim League.

The greatest wonder happened when in Delhi Indira's Congress won six Lok Sabha seats out of seven. The Lok Dal was doomed in the Capital of India.

In 1977 the battle-lines were clearly drawn. It was the Congress *vs* the Janata; the rest of the peripheral parties did not really matter, except in such states as Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and the Punjab. The victory of the Janata in 1977 elections was resounding and conclusive. But now the Janata Party lies shattered, the party broken into two. The Congress is bettered under Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

In 1977, the Janata-CFD combination won 297 seats to 153 by the Congress. The CPM won 22, the CPI 7, the AIADMK 19 and the DMK 1. Independents won 2 and other political parties 41. Of the 297 seats won by the Janata-CFD, the Jana Sangh won 95, the BLD 80, The Congress (O) 50, the Socialists 35 and the CFD 27. There is no way of knowing at this point whether these parties will retain their seats or fall on their faces.

In 1977, there was a perceptible and measurable anti-Indira Gandhi sentiment in the North. In 1980 there was no such clear-cut anti-Janata sentiment; only a feeling of unease that this party or leader does not merit allegiance. Citizens were not coming forward with cash to help favoured candidates to tide over their financial difficulties as thousands did in 1977.

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One point to be noted is that under Indira's leadership, the Congress got 358 seats with 44.7 per cent votes in 1962, 279 seats with 40.7 per cent votes in 1967, and 352 seats with 43.6 per cent votes in 1967, and 352 seats with 43.6 per cent votes in that magic year 1971.

Charismatic as Mrs. Gandhi is, voters still want her as the saviour of the day. She is only one standing between law and order and chaos. She is a Durga, the invincible goddess. Any claims on her behalf will necessarily, therefore, have to be counted.

In 1977, the vote, especially in the Hindi belt, was essentially a negative one. The excesses of the Emergency had spurred the citizen to vote against Mrs. Gandhi and her party. In 1979, the Janata's non-performance has so far failed to rouse similar intensity of emotion. A general failure of law and order has been felt in that same Hindi belt.

Indira is the Crowd-Catcher of India. Noticed in many States is a significant increase in the drawing power of Mrs. Gandhi. Objective reports from the Hindi belt go to suggest that, while some Lok Dal politicians were digging in their toes in their constituencies, Mrs. Gandhi was attracting larger and larger crowds. This, however, has to be coupled with the organisational power of the Congress (I).

Indira's victory is a resounding vindication of her leadership, so much so that she may equate it with the willingness of the populace to forgive the Emergency and its excesses. Her son, Sanjay Gandhi, also got elected, and she may take it to mean that the nation has bestowed its benediction on dynasticism and her right to name him to her Cabinet. She may be more reticent in taking such a step but her reticence will, in all probability, be dictated by the size of her party strength.

With her in power again, it is axiomatic that all the pending cases against her and Mr. Sanjay Gandhi will be withdrawn. They are all false. Sources close to her assert that she will let bygones be bygones and start on a new policy instead of going on a vengeance spree.

There are two grounds for accepting this as a logical step in her rehabilitation. Any move to get back at her erstwhile enemies can only strengthen their determination to hit back at her by hook or by crook. This could end in a wave of strikes, industrial violence, that would compel her more and more to resort to the kind of self-defeating steps that were characteristic of the Emergency. The presumption is that she has learnt her lesson. Contrariwise, an attitude of forgive-and-forget would not only throw her detractors into confusion, but endow her with the image of a statesman who is placing her country's interest before her own.

The forces of chaos are knocking at the gates of India. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is sure to capture them. Here are some of the most significant events of recent history.

(1) All rail movement in and around Lucknow was totally paralysed on November 12, 1979 following a flash strike by employees belonging to the loco department of Northern and North-Eastern Railways. Sixty-five persons were injured in the armed clash.

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(2) Tripura State official sources confirmed on November 12, 1979 that Bangladesh authorities had dug trenches, constructed bunkers, besides reinforcing the BDR posts along the State's border.

(3) Three people, including two BSF personnel, were killed in a surprise attack by heavily-armed Mizo insurgents on a CRPF camp at Ananda Bazaar. According to a press note issued by the Government, the insurgents, while keeping in CRPF and BSF forces engaged, raided the market and looted shops.

(4) Several industries have been forced to cut off production because of shortage of coal and non-availability of wagons.

(5) There is a general breakdown of law and order in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

(6) In one major railway accident it was noticed that fish-plates had been removed.

(7) The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Charan Singh said for the record that his party workers would retalite against anybody disturbing his meetings.

(8) Y.P. Sharma Advocate implied in an exchange with the Chief Justice of India in a packed courtroom that the latter was a liar. This is how advocacy betrays the judiciary. We are on the brink of a precipice. Very little separates us from chaos and confusion.

At our borders, hostiles are nibbling at our land with impunity. Inside our country unknown terrorists are spreading havoc; a Prime Minister is talking like a third-rate politician, forgetting his high office; and in our Supreme Court, a lawyer is challenging the Chief Justice, in regard to a personnel statement, a hitherto unheard of situation.

With all the millions of men and women of goodwill in our country, India cannot possibly slide into chaos. These millions must see to it that India will not slide into chaos. That is the responsibility of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. To destroy her credibility is to destroy ourselves. She should be listened to with respect.

These are undoubtedly hard times.. Still harder times may yet come. There is a special responsibility developing on those who run the edministration, from the permanent civil servant down to the village *Patwari* and the policeman on the beat to hold fast to his job and discharge his duties faithfully.

If this is accepted as the measure of each man's virtue, we need fear no disruption, no fear of breakdown of government. The best governments has been formed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

We do not need to wait for the leader on horse-back to help us tide over our immediate difficulties. We should be our own leaders. Democracy imposes on us the task of being responsible. That responsibility cannot either be shelved or shoved on to other shoulders.

The calls of dictatorship and authoritarianism are cries of despair. We are again in safe hands.

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We have to blaze our own way, seeking our strength in our own determination that no one shall take away from us our previous freedom won at such great cost. India shall live and will live as a beacon to all countries. Indira Gandhi has come to cry a halt to betrayals in India.

By giving an overwhelming verdict in favour of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the people of India have indicated in 1980 that they consider the emergency of 1975 to have been an aberration which would not be repeated in future by Mrs. Gandhi. She promised before the people that she would not repeat the things of Emergency of her previous rule. The mood of the intelligentsia is quite different. Ever since the emergency the intellectuals of India remained alienated from Mrs. Gandhi, largely on the issue of civil liberties, the freedom of the press, the role of the Judiciary and the administrative work of the bureaucracy. In spite of the resounding vote of people's confidence which Indira has got from all corners of India, the suspicions of the alienated intellectuals do persist because it is said in many circles that Mrs. Indira Gandhi does not like the political opinions of the intellectuals. My personal opinion does not tally with the opinions of our intellectuals. Mrs. Gandhi is a lover of intellectualism. It would be wrong to lump together the entire intelligentsia against the ideology of Mrs. Gandhi. There are in india men like me, who remain very strongly committed to Mrs. Gandhi as others of my colour are opposed to her. In between there are some sections of Indian intellectuals whose feelings are mixed. There are some people around Mrs. Gandhi whose instincts would be to advise her to rely mainly on the massive popular support and treat the intelligentsia with the contempt which it richly deserves. This is a possible temptation which should be resisted at all levels by Mrs. Gandhi, who has now returned to power in a glorious manner.

The whole of India is congratulating Indira Gandhi. Mr. Morarji Desai has spoken it publicly on January 9, 1980 that the victory of Congress (I) in 1980 Lok Sabha elections is the personal victory of Mrs. Gandhi.

Mrs. Gandhi had actually fallen from the Political Everest in 1977. She was physically and mentally wounded to the greatest possible extent. Three years after her defeat she climbed up the Political Everest again. We hail the 'Red-Rose.'

National reconciliation is the need of the hour in India. We have to cope with the grim challenges such as the tragic turmoil in the North-East of India, the sudden deterioration of the security environment on our country's North-Western Frontiers. On our intelligentsia's mood depends the morale of our bureacracy, technocracy and the judiciary. There are some people who may or may not be in the new Lok Sabha but they have acquired the reputation of being close to Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Sanjay Gandhi or both. They are announcing foolishly that they are going to settle scores with all those who annoyed them during the Janata rule. I am cock-sure that Mrs. Gandhi, as Prime Minister, will not be vindictive towards those who have been persecuting her in 1978-79.

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India's new government will have to act cautiously. In the past, Indira's advisors were given too much of credit for her achievements. Now, in future the role of her advisors has to be limited. All people in India have realised that Mrs. Gandhi's sensational triumph at the polls in 1980 is her personal victory as it was in 1971.

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